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T H E
POLITICAL REGISTER,
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IMPARTIAL REVIEW
O F
N E W B O O K S.
FOR MDCCLXIX.

VOLUME THE FOURTH.

L O N D O N:
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1768-1769.

T H E

POLITICAL REGISTER,

For J A N U A R Y, 1769.

N U M B E R XXII.

To the EDITOR *of the* POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

I have sent you the following curious and authentic paper, in order to undeceive your readers and the public, with regard to the opinions held in Great-Britain of the Americans, who, it has been asserted, never disputed, nor even thought about the Right of taxation, till very lately; and that all their arguments and doctrines now made use of, are the novel, and sudden productions of the present time. This paper will put the question of *Right*, and the principles upon which it is founded, upon a much earlier date: it is a declaration from the governor and council of Barbadoes, soon after the conquest of that island, during the residence and life-times of some of the first settlers who went from England; for it bears date only twenty-seven years after the surrender of that island to the English. I have transcribed it, *verbatim et literatim*, from the fourth volume of Grey's edition of Neale's History of the Puritans. London, printed 1739. It stands in the appendix, numbered 12, and seems quite unconnected with any other paper or passage (as far as I have been able to discover) in the work.—Indeed it was an unlikely place to expect to find such a paper.

Vol. IV.

E

A Decla-

A Declaration of my Lord Willoughby, Lieutenant-Generall and Governour of the Barbadoes, and other Carabis islands; as also, the Council of the island belonging to it; serving in answer to a certaine act, formerly put forth by the parliament of England, the 3d of October, 1650. Translated out of English into Dutch, printed at Rotterdam †. A declaration, published by order of my Lord-Lieutenant General, the 18th of February, 1650-1. The lords of the council and of the assemblie, † *being occasioned*, at the sight of certaine printed papers, intituled, An act, forbidding commerce and traffick with the Barbadoes, Virginia, Bermudas, and Antego.

The lord-lieutenant general, together with the lords of this council and assembly, having carefully read over the said printed papers, and finding them to oppose the freedom, safety, and well-being of this island, have thought themselves bound to communicate the same to all inhabitants of this island; as also, their observation, and resolution concerning it, and to proceed therein after the best manner; wherefore, they have first of all ordered the same to be read publicquely.

Concerning the abovesaid act, by which the least capacity may comprehend, how much the inhabitants of this island would be brought into contempt and slavery, if the same be not timely prevented.

First, they alledge, That this island was first settled and inhabited at the charges, and by especial order of the people of England, and therefore ought to be subject to the same nation. It is certain, that we all of us know very well, that wee the present inhabitants of this island, were, and still be that people of England, who, with great danger of our persons, and to our great charge and trouble, have settled this island in its condition, and inhabited the same; and shall wee therefore be subject to the will and command of those who stay at home? Shall wee be bound to the government and lordship of a parliament, in which we have no representatives, or persons chosen by us, for there to propound and consent to what might be needful

† At this time the Barbadians had great traffic with the Dutch; and this paper being interesting to the Hollanders, was certainly the reason of its being translated into their language; from which comes this second translation.

† i. e. *taking occasion*.

Declaration of Lord Willoughby.

and serviceable to us? As also to oppose and dispute all what should tend to our disadvantage and harme: in truth, this would be a slavery far exceeding all that the English nation hath yet suffered. And we doubt not, but the courage which hath brought us thus far out of our own country, to seek our beings and livelihoods in this wild country, will mainteine us in our freedoms; without which, our lives will be uncomfortable to us.

Secondly, it is alledged, That the inhabitants of this island, have, by cunning and force, usurped a power and government.

If wee, the inhabitants of this island, had been heard what wee could have said for ourselves, this allegation had never been printed; but those who are destined to be slaves; may not enjoy those priviledges; otherwise, we might have said, and testified with a truth, that the government now used amongst us, is the same that hath always been ratified, and doth every way agree with the first settlement and government in these places; and was given us by the same power and authority that New-England hold theirs; against whom the act makes no objection.

And the government here in subjection, is the nearest model of conformity, under which our predecessors of the English nation have lived and flourished for above a thousand years. Therefore we conclude, that the rule of reason and discourse is most strangely mistaken, if the continuation and submission to a right, well-settled government, bee judged to be an usurping of a new power; and to the contrarie, the usurpation of a new government be held a continuation of the old.

Thirdly, by the abovesaid act, All outlandish nations are forbidden to hold any correspondency or traffick with the inhabitants of this island; although all the ancient inhabitants know very well, how greatly they have been obliged to those of the Low-Countries for their subsistence; and how difficult it would have been for us, (without their assistance) ever to have inhabited these places, or to have brought them into order: and wee are yet daily sensible, what necessary comfoit they bring to us daily, and that they doe sell their commodities a great deale cheaper then

our own nation will doe : but this comfort must be taken from us, by these whose will must be a law to us : but wee declare, that we will never be so unthankful to the Netherlanders, for their former help and assistance, as to deny or forbid them, or any other nation, the freedome of our harbours, and the protection of our laws, by which they may continue (if they please) in all freedome of commerce and traffique with us.

Fourthly, For to perfect and accomplish our intended slavery, and to make our necks pliable for to undergoe the yoke, they got and forbid to our own countrymen, to hold any correspondency, commerce, or traffique with us ; nor suffer any to come at us, but such who have obtained particular licenses from some persons who are expressly ordered for that purpose, by whose means it might be brought about, that noe other goods or merchandizes shall be brought hither, then such as the licensed persons shall please, and thinke fit to give way to ; and that they are to sell the same at such a price, as they shall please to impose upon them, and suffer no other shippes to come hither, but their own : as likewise, that no inhabitants of this island may send home upon their own account, any island goods of this place ; but shall bee as slaves to the companie, who shall have the abovesayd licenses, just as our negroes are to us, and submit to them the whole advantage of our labour and industry.

Wherefore, having rightly considered, we declare, That as we would not be wanting to use all honest means for the obtaining of a continuance of commerce, trade, and good correspondency with our country, soe wee will not alienate ourselves from those old heroick virtues of true Englishmen, to prostrate our freedome and priviledges, to which we are borne, to the will and opinion of any one ; neither doe wee thinke our number so contemptible, nor our resolution so weake, to be forced or perswaded to so ignoble a submission ; and we cannot think, that there are any amongst us, whoe are soe simple and soe unworthily minded, that they would not rather chuse a noble death, then forsake their ould liberties and priviledges.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

London, to wit.

JOHAN GARDINER, of the Inner-Temple, Esq; Barrister at Law, maketh oath and faith, that about twelve or one o'clock in the forenoon, on Saturday the thirtieth day of April, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three, he, this deponent, (being in Westminster-hall) heard, that a motion was then making in his Majesty's court of Common-Pleas, for an habeas corpus, to bring up the body of John Wilkes, Esq; who, as this deponent was then informed, was a prisoner in the custody of some of his Majesty's messengers in ordinary; and this deponent saith, that he, immediately upon receiving such information, went into the said court of Common-Pleas, in order to see the event of the said motion. And this deponent further saith, that as soon as the said court had ordered the said writ of habeas corpus to issue, this deponent went to the house of the said John Wilkes, Esq; in Great George-street, Westminster, at the door of which house this deponent saw several gentlemen, (friends of the said John Wilkes, as this deponent then understood and believed) who informed this deponent, that they could not gain any admission into the said house; and further told this deponent, that the king's messengers were in possession of the said house, and kept the door thereof: whereupon this deponent went up to the door of the said house, and knocked at the same, which was soon opened, and kept a little way open, by some person or persons from within. This deponent then asked Mr. Wilkes's servant, who appeared through the said opening of the said door, whether his master was within? Such servant returned for answer, that the said Mr. Wilkes was not, and added, that the said Mr. Wilkes had been carried to, and then was at, lord Halifax's. This deponent then asked the said servant to let this deponent into the said Mr. Wilkes's house; to which the said servant made answer, that it was not in his power, for that the messengers were in possession of the door. This deponent then desired to see such messengers. Upon which, one of the said messengers (whose name was Blackmore, as this deponent believes) came in sight. This deponent then asked the said messenger, By what authority he kept Mr. Wilkes's friends out of his house? Such messenger made answer, that he acted by virtue, or under the authority of the secretary or secretaries of state, or used words to that or the like purport or effect. This deponent then desired such messenger to shew his authority, or produce the orders of the secretaries of state; which such messenger refusing to produce, this deponent then turned his discourse to the aforesaid servant of Mr. Wilkes, and asked him

Affidavit of John Gardiner, Esq;

him if his master had given any orders to keep his friends out of his house? Such servant replied, his master had given no such orders; whereupon this deponent turned round to the aforesaid gentlemen, whom he found at the said Mr. Wilkes's door as aforesaid, and desired them to follow him, and with one push or shove, opened the said door, and got into the said house, and went with all the said gentlemen into the front parlour of the said house (among the said gentlemen were, to the best of this deponent's belief and recollection, Mr. Townsend, Mr. Walsh, Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Cotes, Mr. Philipps, and several others): this deponent then talked with the said messengers, and told them that he, this deponent, thought they had acted in a most illegal and unjustifiable manner, and that he, this deponent, apprehended they would be severely punished for such an outrage upon the laws of their country. Soon after Mr. Wood, (who, as this deponent was informed and believes, was then deputy secretary of state) came into the said parlour of the said Mr. Wilkes's house, and immediately interrogated the said messengers, (in a passionate tone of voice, as this deponent apprehended) Who had sent for him? Which question the said messengers not immediately answering, the said Mr. Wood repeated the same once again, or more. Some of the messengers then said, they had all sent for him, for that those gentlemen (meaning, as this deponent believes, this deponent and the said other friends of the said Mr. Wilkes) would force their way into the house. The said Mr. Wood then asked, (in the same haughty tone of voice) Who was the person that would force his way, or would come in? or used words to that or the like purport or effect. This deponent made answer, and declared, that he was one of the persons that would come into the said house, but that he knew of no force by himself or the said friends of Mr. Wilkes, or used words to that or the like effect; and all or most of the said gentlemen, who were friends of the said Mr. Wilkes, joined in the said declaration. Soon after this, one Philip Cartaret Webb made his appearance in the said house, and entered into some private discourse with the said Mr. Wood; after which, to the best of this deponent's recollection as to point of time, the right hon. earl Temple came into the said parlour, when some discourse passed between the said earl and the said Mr. Wood and the said Mr. Webb; and after a good deal of altercation between the said Mr. Wood and the said Mr. Webb, and the said friends of the said Mr. Wilkes, the said Mr. Wood and Mr. Webb (who seemed to take upon themselves the sole direction and disposition of the said Mr. Wilkes's house, and of every thing therein) asked the said earl, if he choosed to attend the
officers

officers or messengers while they were sealing up all the said Mr. Wilkes's papers? which the said earl then refused. The said Mr. Wood and Mr. Webb then made the same offer to this deponent, and to the other friends of the said Mr. Wilkes. Soon after, this deponent quitted the house of the said Mr. Wilkes, and went with Mr. Beardmore (the solicitor of the said Mr. Wilkes) to the Tower of London, where the said Mr. Wilkes had been just committed a prisoner, as this deponent had been informed; and this deponent there applied to major Rainsford, who then commanded in the said Tower, and desired to be admitted to the said Mr. Wilkes, in order to consult with the said Mr. Wilkes, and fix upon a legal mode or plan for his enlargement; but the said major Rainsford then acquainted this deponent, that he had received orders from the secretaries of state, not to admit any person whatever to speak with, or see the said Mr. Wilkes; and further informed this deponent, that he (the said major Rainsford) had just before refused lord Temple the like admittance to the said John Wilkes; and this deponent further saith, that, to the best of this deponent's recollection and belief, the said major Rainsford demanded of this deponent his name; and informed this deponent that he had orders to take down the names of all persons who should apply for admittance to the said Mr. Wilkes. And this deponent, upon his oath aforesaid, further saith, that between the hours of twelve and one, on Sunday May the first, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three, he, this deponent, called again upon the said major Rainsford, and again desired the said major Rainsford to admit him, this deponent, to see and consult with the said Mr. Wilkes; but the said major Rainsford then again refused this deponent, as he did soon after several noblemen and gentlemen; and Mr. Heaton Wilkes, (the brother of the said John Wilkes) who all applied to the said major Rainsford for a like admittance to the said John Wilkes, in the presence of this deponent. The said Mr. Webb (who appeared to be, and was, as this deponent believes, a director and adviser in all the proceedings against the said John Wilkes) then being present in the said major Rainsford's room; this deponent applied to the said Mr. Webb for admittance to the said Mr. Wilkes. The said Mr. Webb thereupon desired the said major Rainsford to permit this deponent to see and converse with the said Mr. Wilkes. The said major Rainsford answered, his orders were to admit no person to Mr. Wilkes, and that he could not comply with what the said Mr. Webb requested, or used words to that or the like purport and effect. The said Mr. Webb then replied, that it could not be the intentions of the secretaries of state

to keep the said Mr. Wilkes so close a prisoner; and again desired the said major Rainsford to admit this deponent to the said Mr. Wilkes, and added, that he (the said Mr. Webb) would indemnify him (meaning the said major Rainsford); to which the said major Rainsford then further answered, that he could not comply with the said Mr. Webb's request, nor would he break or disobey orders, or used words to that or the like purport and effect. The said Mr. Webb then said, that if either of the secretaries of state were in town, he would apply to them, and obtain an order to admit this deponent to the said Mr. Wilkes, and that he would either send or bring such order for such admittance in the afternoon. This deponent, confiding in the said promise of the said Mr. Webb, went again to the said Tower between eight and nine o'clock of the same first of May, and again applied to the said major Rainsford for such admittance, but was again refused admittance by the said major, who then informed this deponent, that he had not received any orders from the secretaries of state, nor had he heard any thing from the said Mr. Webb. And this deponent further saith, that he, this deponent, on Monday the second of May, between the hours of two and three o'clock in the afternoon, again applied to the said major Rainsford for admittance to the said John Wilkes, but was again denied such admittance by the said major Rainsford. And this deponent further saith, that he has been ready and willing to testify all the facts aforesaid, before the honourable house of commons, but that the order for the attendance of this deponent before the said honourable house being further adjourned or enlarged to the 27th day of January next, this deponent cannot then attend the said house, as he, this deponent, had taken his passage for the West-Indies, before he, this deponent, was served with any order to attend the said honourable house.

J. GARDINER.

Sworn at the Mansion-house, in the city of London,
this 17th day of December, in the year 1768, be-
fore me, SAMUEL TURNER, Mayor.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

The following is a true copy of the letter sent to several gentlemen summoned to attend as jurymen on the trials of John Wilkes, Esq; the evening before, and the same morning they came on, in Westminster-hall, by means whereof those gentlemen were deceived, and prevented from making their appearance there:

Middlesex. THE information of the King against John Wilkes, Esq; is adjourned to Thursday, the 23d day of February instant, at nine o'clock in the forenoon, in Westminster-hall; of which, Sir, you have this notice from

Your humble servant,
Summoning Officer.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

An Enquiry into the RIGHTS of the BRITISH Colonies. In a Letter to the Author of *The Regulations, &c.* By RICHARD BLAND, Esq; of VIRGINIA.

Dedit omnibus Deus pro virili portione sapientiam, ut et inaudita investigare possent et audita perpendere. LACTANTIUS.

Printed at Williamsburgh in Virginia,

S I R,

I TAKE the liberty to address you, as the author of "The Regulations lately made concerning the Colonies, and the Taxes imposed upon them, considered." It is not to the man, whoever you are, that I address myself; but it is to the author of a pamphlet, which, according to the light I view it in, endeavours to fix shackles upon the *American* colonies: shackles which, however nicely polished, can by no means sit easy upon men, who have just sentiments of their own rights and liberties.

You have, indeed, brought this trouble upon yourself; for you say, that "many steps have been lately taken by the ministry, to cement and perfect the necessary connection between the colonies and the mother-kingdom, which every man who is sincerely interested in what is interesting to his country, will anxiously consider the propriety of, will enquire into the information, and canvass the principles upon which they have been adopted; and will be ready to applaud what has been well done, condemn what has been done amiss, and suggest any emendations, improvements, or additions, which may be within his knowledge, and occur to his reflection."

Encouraged therefore by so candid an invitation, I have undertaken to examine, with an honest plainness and freedom, whether the ministry, by imposing taxes upon the colonies by authority of parliament, have pursued a wise and salutary plan of government, or whether they have exerted pernicious and destructive acts of power.

I pretend not to concern myself with the regulations lately made, to encourage population in the new acquisitions: time

can only determine, whether the reasons, upon which they have been founded, are agreeable to the maxims of trade and sound policy, or not. However, I will venture to observe, that if the most powerful inducement towards peopling those acquisitions, is to arise from the expectation of a constitution to be established in them, similar to the other royal governments in *America*, it must be a strong circumstance, in my opinion, against their being settled by *Englishmen*, or even by *foreigners*, who do not live under the most despotic government; since, upon your principles of colony-government, such a constitution will not be worth their acceptance.

The question is, whether the colonies are represented in the *British* parliament, or not? You affirm it to be an indubitable fact that they are represented, and from thence you infer a right in the parliament to impose taxes of every kind upon them. You do not insist upon the *power*, but upon the *right* of parliament, to impose taxes upon the colonies. This is certainly a very proper distinction; as *right* and *power* have very different meanings, and convey very different ideas: for had you told us that the parliament of *Great-Britain* have *power*, by the fleets and armies of the kingdom, to impose taxes, and to raise contributions upon the colonies, I should not have presumed to dispute the point with you; but as you insist upon the *right* only, I must beg leave to differ from you in opinion, and shall give my reasons for it.

But I must first recapitulate your arguments in support of this right in the parliament. You say, “the inhabitants of the colonies do not indeed choose members of parliament, neither are nine-tenths of the people of *Britain* electors; for the right of election is annexed to certain species of property, to peculiar franchises, and to inhabitancy in some particular places. But these descriptions comprehend only a very small part of the lands, the property and people of *Britain*; all copyhold, all leasehold estates under the crown, under the church, or under private persons, though for terms ever so long; all landed property, in short, that is not freehold, and all monied property whatsoever, are excluded. The possessors of these have no votes in the election of members of parliament; women, and persons under age, be their property ever so large, and all of it freehold, have none: the merchants of *London*, a numerous and respectable body of men, whose opulence exceeds all that *America* can collect; the proprietors of that vast accumulation of wealth, the public funds; the inhabitants of *Leeds*, of *Halifax*, of *Birmingham*, and of *Manchester*, towns that are each of them larger than the largest
“ in

“ in the plantations ; many of lesser note, that are incorporated ; and that great corporation, the *East-India* company, whose rights over the countries they possess, fall very little short of sovereignty, and whose trade and whose fleets are sufficient to constitute them a maritime power, are all in the same circumstances : and yet are they not represented in parliament ? Is their vast property subject to taxation without their consent ? Are they all arbitrarily bound by laws to which they have not agreed ? The colonies are exactly in the same situation ; all *British* subjects are really in the same ; none are actually, all are virtually, represented in parliament : for every member of parliament sits in the house, not as a representative of his own constituents, but as one of that august assembly by which all the commons of *Great-Britain* are represented.”

This is the sum of what you advance, in all the pomp of parliamentary declamation, to prove, that the colonies are represented in parliament, and therefore subject to their taxation ; but notwithstanding this way of reasoning, I cannot comprehend, how men, who are excluded from voting at the election of members of parliament, can be represented in that assembly ; or how those, who are elected, do not sit in the house as representatives of their constituents. These assertions appear to me not only paradoxical, but contrary to the fundamental principles of the *English* constitution.

To illustrate this important disquisition, I conceive we must recur to the civil constitution of *England*, and from thence deduce and ascertain the rights and privileges of the people, at the first establishment of the government, and discover the alterations that have been made in them from time to time ; and it is from the laws of the kingdom, founded upon the principles of the law of nature, that we are to show the obligation every member of the state is under, to pay obedience to its institutions. From these principles I shall endeavour to prove, that the inhabitants of *Britain*, who have no vote in the election of members of parliament, are not represented in that assembly, and yet that they owe obedience to the laws of parliament, which, as to them, are constitutional, and not arbitrary. As to the colonies, I shall consider them afterwards.

Now it is a fact, as certain as history can make it, that the present civil constitution of *England* derives its original from those *Saxons*, who, coming over to the assistance of the *Britons*, in the time of their king *Vortigern*, made themselves masters of the kingdom, and established a form of government in it, similar to that they had been accustomed to live

under in their native country *; as similar, at least, as the difference of their situation and circumstances would permit. This government, like that from whence they came, was founded upon principles of the most perfect liberty: the conquered lands were divided among the individuals, in proportion to the rank they held in the nation †; and every freeman, that is, every freeholder, was a member of their wittinagemot, or parliament ‖. The other part of the nation, or the non-proprietors of land, were of little estimation §. They, as in *Germany*, were either slaves, mere hewers of wood and drawers of water, or freedmen; who, being of foreign extraction, had been manumitted by their masters, and were excluded from the high privilege of having a share in the administration of the commonwealth, unless they became proprietors of land (which they might obtain by purchase or donation), and in that case they had a right to sit with the freemen in the parliament or sovereign legislature of the state.

How long this right of being personally present in the parliament continued, or when the custom of sending representatives to this great council of the nation, was first introduced, cannot be determined with precision; but let the custom of representation be introduced when it will, it is certain that every freeman, or, which was the same thing in the eye of the constitution, every freeholder ‡, had a right to vote at the election of members of parliament, and therefore might be said, with great propriety, to be present in that assembly, either in his own person, or by representation. This right of election in the freeholders, is evident from the statute 1st *Hen. 5.* ch. 1st, which limits the right of election to those freeholders only who are resident in the counties the day of the date of the writ of election; but yet every resident freeholder indiscriminately, let his freehold be ever so small, had a right to vote at the election of knights for his county, so that they were actually represented: and this right of election continued until it was taken away by the statute 8th *Hen. 6.* ch. 7. from those freeholders who had not a clear freehold estate of forty shillings by the year at the least.

Now this statute was deprivative of the right of those freeholders who came within the description of it; but of what did it deprive them, if they were represented, notwithstanding

* *Fetys's Rights of the Com. Brady's Comp. Hist. Rapin. Squire's Inquiry.*

† *Cæsar de Bell. Gall. Tacitus de Germ. c. 28. Temple's Misc. || Tacitus de Germ. c. 11. § Ibid. c. 25,*

‡ 2 *Inst.* 27. 4 *Inst.* 2.

ing their right of election was taken from them? The mere act of voting was nothing, of no value, if they were represented as constitutionally without it as with it: but when by the fundamental principles of the constitution they were to be considered as members of the legislature, and as such had a right to be present in person, or to send their procurators or attorneys, and by them to give their suffrage in the supreme council of the nation, this statute deprived them of an essential right; a right, without which, by the ancient constitution of the state, all other liberties were but a species of bondage.

As these freeholders then were deprived of their rights, to substitute delegates to parliament, they could not be represented, but were placed in the same condition with the non-proprietors of land, who were excluded by the original constitution from having any share in the legislature, but who, notwithstanding such exclusion, are bound to pay obedience to the laws of parliament, even if they should consist of nine-tenths of the people of *Britain*; but then the obligation of these laws does not arise from their being virtually represented in parliament, but from a quite different reason.

Men, in a state of nature, are absolutely free and independent of one another, as to sovereign jurisdiction*; but when they enter into a society, and by their own consent become members of it, they must submit to the laws of the society according to which they agree to be governed; for it is evident, by the very act of association, that each member subjects himself to the authority of that body, in whom, by common consent, the legislative power of the state is placed: but though they must submit to the laws, so long as they remain members of the society, yet they retain so much of their natural freedom, as to have a right to retire from the society, to renounce the benefits of it, to enter into another society, and to settle in another country; for their engagements to the society, and their submission to the public authority of the state, do not oblige them to continue in it longer than they find it will conduce to their happiness, which they have a natural right to promote. This natural right remains with every man, and he cannot justly be deprived of it by any civil authority. Every person, therefore, who is denied his share in the legislature of the state to which he had an original right; and every person, who, from his particular circumstances, is excluded from this great privilege, and refuses to exercise his natural right of quitting the country, but re-

* *Vattel's Law of Nature. Locke on Civil Govern. Wollaston's Rel. of Nat.*

mains in it, and continues to exercise the rights of a citizen in all other respects, must be subject to the laws, which by these acts he *implicitly*, or, to use your own phrase, *virtually* consents to: for men may subject themselves to laws, by consenting to them *implicitly*; that is, by conforming to them, by adhering to the society, and accepting the benefits of its constitution, as well as *explicitly* and directly, in their own persons, or by their representatives substituted in their room *.

Thus, if a man whose property does not entitle him to be an elector of members of parliament, and therefore cannot be represented, or have any share in the legislature, “ inherits
“ or takes any thing by the laws of the country to which he
“ has no indubitable right in nature, or which, if he has a
“ right to it, he cannot tell how to get or keep, without the
“ aid of the laws, and the advantage of society; then, when
“ he takes this inheritance, or whatever it is, *with* it he
“ takes and owns the laws that gave it him. And since the
“ security he has from the laws of the country, in respect of
“ his person and rights, is the *equivalent* for his submission to
“ them, he cannot accept *that* security without being obliged,
“ in equity, to pay *this* submission: nay, his very continuing
“ in the country, shows, that he either likes the constitution,
“ or likes it better, notwithstanding the alteration made in it
“ to his disadvantage, than any other; or at least thinks it
“ better, in his circumstances, to conform to it, than to seek
“ any other; that is, he is content to be comprehended in
“ it.”

From hence it is evident, that the obligation of the laws of parliament upon the people of *Britain*, who have no right to be electors, does not arise from their being *virtually* represented, but from a quite different principle; a principle of the law of nature, true, certain, and universal, applicable to every sort of government, and not contrary to the common understandings of mankind.

If what you say is a real fact, that nine-tenths of the people of *Britain* are deprived of the high privilege of being electors, it shows a great defect in the present constitution, which has departed so much from its original purity; but never can prove, that those people are even *virtually* represented in parliament. And here give me leave to observe, that it would be a work worthy of the best patriotic spirits in the nation, to effectuate an alteration in this putrid part of the constitution; and, by restoring it to its pristine perfection, prevent any “ order or rank of the subjects from imposing upon

“or binding the rest, without their consent.” But, I fear, the gangrene has taken too deep hold to be eradicated in these days of venality.

But if those people of *Britain* who are excluded from being electors, are not represented in parliament, the conclusion is much stronger against the people of the colonies being represented, who are considered by the *British* government itself, in every instance of parliamentary legislation, as a distinct people. It has been determined by the lords of the privy council, that “acts of parliament made in *England*, without naming the foreign plantations, will not bind them*.” Now what can be the reason of this determination, but that the lords of the privy council are of opinion, the colonies are a distinct people from the inhabitants of *Britain*, and are not represented in parliament? If, as you contend, the colonies are *exactly* in the same situation with the subjects in *Britain*, the laws will in every instance be equally binding upon them, as upon those subjects, unless you can discover two species of *virtual* representation; the one, to respect the subjects in *Britain*, and always existing in time of parliament; the other, to respect the colonies, a mere non-entity, if I may be allowed the term, and never existing, but when the parliament thinks proper to produce it into being, by any particular act in which the colonies happen to be named. But I must examine the case of the colonies more distinctly.

It is in vain to search into the civil constitution of *England* for directions in fixing the proper connection between the colonies and the mother-kingdom; I mean, what their reciprocal duties to each other are, and what obedience is due from the children to the general parent. The planting colonies from *Britain*, is but of recent date, and nothing relative to such-plantation can be collected from the ancient laws of the kingdom; neither can we receive any better information, by extending our enquiry into the history of the colonies, established by the several nations, in the more early ages of the world. All the colonies (except those of *Georgia* and *Nova Scotia*) formed from the *English* nation in *North-America*, were planted in a manner, and under a dependance, of which there is not an instance in all the colonies of the ancients; and therefore I conceive, it must afford a good degree of surprise, to find an *English* civilian † giving it as his sentiment, that the *English* colonies ought to be governed by the *Roman* laws; and for no better reason, than because the *Spanish* colonies, as he says, are governed by those laws. The *Romans*

* 2 *Pur. Williams.* † *Strahan* in his *Preface* to *Demat.*
established

established their colonies, in the midst of vanquished nations, upon principles which best secured their conquests; the privileges granted to them were not always the same; their policy in the government of their colonies, and the conquered nations, being always directed by arbitrary principles to the end they aimed at, the subjecting the whole earth to their empire: but the colonies in *North-America*, except those planted within the present century, were founded by *Englishmen*, who, becoming private adventurers, established themselves, without any expence to the nation, in this uncultivated and almost uninhabited country; so that their case is plainly distinguishable from that of the *Roman*, or any other colonies of the ancient world.

As then we can receive no light from the laws of the kingdom, or from ancient history, to direct us in our enquiry, we must have recourse to the law of nature, and those rights of mankind which flow from it.

I have observed before, that when subjects are deprived of their civil rights, or are dissatisfied with the place they hold in the community, they have a natural right to quit the society of which they are members, and to retire into another country. Now when men exercise this right, and withdraw themselves from their country, they recover their natural freedom and independence: the jurisdiction and sovereignty of the state they have quitted, ceases; and if they unite, and by common consent take possession of a new country, and form themselves into a political society, they become a sovereign state, independent of the state from which they separated. If then the subjects of *England* have a natural right to relinquish their country; and by retiring from it, and associating together, to form a new political society and independent state, they must have a right, by compact with the sovereign of the nation, to remove into a new country, and to form a civil establishment upon the terms of the compact. In such a case, the terms of the compact must be obligatory and binding upon the parties; they must be the magna charta, the fundamental principles of government, to this new society; and every infringement of them must be wrong, and may be opposed. It will be necessary, then, to examine, whether any such compact was entered into between the sovereign, and those *English* subjects who established themselves in *America*.

You have told us, that “before the first and great act of navigation, the inhabitants of *North-America* were but a few unhappy fugitives, who had wandered thither to enjoy their civil and religious liberties, which they were deprived

"of at home." If this was true, it is evident, from what has been said upon the law of nature, that they have a right to a civil independent establishment of their own, and that *Great-Britain* has no right to interfere in it. But you have been guilty of a gross anachronism in your chronology, and a great error in your account of the first settlement of the colonies in *North-America*; for it is a notorious fact that they were not settled by fugitives from their native country, but by men who came over voluntarily, at their own expence, and under charters from the crown, obtained for that purpose, long before the first and great act of navigation.

The first of these charters was granted to Sir *Walter Raleigh* by queen *Elizabeth*, under her great seal, and was confirmed by the parliament of *England* in the year 1684*. By this charter, the whole country to be possessed by Sir *Walter Raleigh* was granted to him, his heirs and assigns, in perpetual sovereignty, in as extensive a manner as the crown could grant, or had ever granted before to any person or persons, with full power of legislation, and to establish a civil government in it, as near as conveniently might be agreeable to the form of the *English* government and policy thereof. The country was to be united to the realm of *England*, in perfect LEAGUE AND AMITY; was to be within the allegiance of the crown of *England*, and to be held by homage, and the payment of one-fifth of all gold and silver ore, which was reserved for all services, duties, and demands.

Sir *Walter Raleigh*, under this charter, took possession of *North-America*, upon that part of the continent which gave him a right to the tract of country which lies between the twenty-fifth degree of latitude, and the gulf of *St. Lawrence*; but a variety of accidents happening in the course of his exertions to establish a colony, and perhaps being overborn by the expence of so great a work, he made an assignment to divers gentlemen and merchants of *London*, in the 31st year of the queen's reign, for continuing his plantation in *America*. These assignees were not more successful in their attempts, than the proprietor himself had been; but being animated with the expectation of mighty advantages from the accomplishment of their undertaking, they, with others, who associated with them, obtained new charters from king *James* the first, in whom all Sir *Walter Raleigh's* rights became vested upon his attainder; containing the same extensive jurisdic-

* This charter is printed at large in *Hakluyt's Voyages*, p. 725, folio edition, anno 1589; and the substance of it is in the 3d vol. of *Salmon's Mod. Hist.* p. 424.

tions, royalties, privileges, franchises, and pre-eminences, and the same powers to establish a civil government in the colony, as had been granted to Sir *W. Raleigh*, with an express clause of exemption, for ever, from all taxes or impositions upon their import and export trade.

Under these charters the proprietors effectually prosecuted, and happily succeeded, in planting a colony upon that part of the continent which is now called *Virginia*. This colony, after struggling through immense difficulties, without receiving the least assistance from the *English* government, attained to such a degree of perfection, that in the year 1621, a general assembly, or legislative authority, was established in the governor, council, and house of burgesses, who were elected by the freeholders as their representatives; and they have continued, from that time, to exercise the power of legislation over the colony.

But upon the 15th of *July*, 1624, king *James* dissolved the company by proclamation, and took the colony under his immediate dependence, which occasioned much confusion, and created mighty apprehensions in the colony, lest they should be deprived of the rights and privileges granted them by the company, according to the powers contained in their charters.

To put an end to this confusion, and to conciliate the colony to the new system of government the crown intended to establish among them, K. *Charles* the first, upon the demise of his father, by proclamation the 13th of *May*, 1625, declared, "that *Virginia* should be immediately dependent upon the crown; that the affairs of the colony should be vested in a council, consisting of a few persons of understanding and quality, to be subordinate and attendant to the privy-council in *England*; that he was resolved to establish another council in *Virginia*, to be subordinate to the council in *England* for the colony; and that he would maintain the necessary officers, ministers, forces, ammunition, and fortifications thereof, at his own charge." But this proclamation had an effect quite different from what was intended; instead of allaying, it increased the confusion of the colony; they now thought their regular constitution was to be destroyed, and a prerogative government established over them; or, as they express themselves in their remonstrance, that "their rights and privileges were to be assaulted." This general disquietude and dissatisfaction continued until they received a letter from the lords of the privy-council, dated *July* the 22d, 1634, containing the royal assurance and confirmation, that "all their estates, trade, freedom, and privileges, should be
"enjoyed

“ enjoyed by them in as extensive a manner, as they enjoyed
“ them before the recalling the company’s patent ;” where-
upon they became reconciled, and began again to exert them-
selves in the improvement of the colony.

Being now in full possession of the rights and privileges of
Englishmen, which they esteemed more than their lives, their
affection for the royal government grew almost to enthusiasm;
for upon an attempt to restore the company’s charter, by au-
thority of parliament, the general assembly, upon the 1st of
April, 1642, drew up a declaration or protestation, in the
form of an act, by which they declared, “ they never would
“ submit to the government of any company or proprietor,
“ or to so unnatural a distance as a company, or other per-
“ son, to interpose between the crown and the subjects; that
“ they were born under monarchy, and would never degene-
“ rate from the condition of their births, by being subject to
“ any other government; and every person who should attempt
“ to reduce them under any other government, was declared
“ an enemy to the country, and his estate was to be forfeited.”
This act, being presented to the king at his court at *York*,
July 5th, 1644, drew from him a most gracious answer, un-
der his royal signet, in which he gave them the fullest assu-
rances, that they should be always immediately dependent
upon the crown, and that the form of government should ne-
ver be changed. But after the king’s death, they gave a more
eminent instance of their attachment to royal government, in
their opposition to the parliament, and forcing the parliament
commissioners, who were sent over with a squadron of ships
of war to take possession of the country, into articles of sur-
render, before they would submit to their obedience. As these
articles reflect no small honour upon this infant colony, and
as they are not commonly known, I will give an abstract of
such of them as relate to the present subject.

1. The plantation of *Virginia*, and all the inhabitants
thereof, shall be and remain in due subjection to the common-
wealth of *England*, not as a conquered country, but as a
country submitting by their own voluntary act, and shall en-
joy such freedoms and privileges as belong to the free people
of *England*.

2. The general assembly as formerly shall convene, and
transact the affairs of the colony.

3. The people of *Virginia* shall have a free trade, as the
people of *England*, to all places, and with all nations.

4. *Virginia* shall be free from all taxes, customs, and im-
positions whatsoever; and none shall be imposed on them,
without consent of the general assembly; and that neither

forts nor castles be erected, or garrisons maintained, without their consent.

Upon this surrender of the colony to the parliament, Sir *W. Berkeley*, the royal governor, was removed, and three other governors were successively elected by the house of burgesses; but in *January*, 1659, Sir *William Berkeley* was replaced at the head of the government by the people, who unanimously renounced their obedience to the parliament, and restored the royal authority, by proclaiming *Charles* the second, king of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, *Ireland*, and *Virginia*; so that he was king in *Virginia* some time before he had any certain assurance of being restored to his throne in *England*.

From this detail of the charters, and other acts of the crown, under which the first colony in *North-America* was established, it is evident, that “the colonists were not a few unhappy fugitives who had wandered into a distant part of the world to enjoy their civil and religious liberties, which they were deprived of at home,” but had a regular government long before the first act of navigation, and were respected as a distinct state, independent, as to their internal government, of the original kingdom, but united with her, as to their external polity, in the closest and most intimate LEAGUE AND AMITY, under the same allegiance, and enjoying the benefits of a reciprocal intercourse.

But allow me to make a reflection or two upon the preceding account of the first settlement of an *English* colony in *North-America*.

America was no part of the kingdom of *England*; it was possessed by a savage people, scattered through the country, who were not subject to the *English* dominion, nor owed obedience to its laws. This independent country was settled by *Englishmen* at their own expence, under particular stipulations with the crown: these stipulations, then, must be the sacred band of union between *England* and her colonies, and cannot be infringed without injustice. But you object, that “no power can abridge the authority of parliament, which has never exempted any from the submission they owe to it; and no other power can grant such an exemption.”

I will not dispute the authority of the parliament, which is, without doubt, supreme within the body of the kingdom, and cannot be abridged by any other power; but may not the king have prerogatives, which he has a right to exercise, without the consent of parliament? If he has, perhaps that of granting licence to his subjects to remove into a new country, and to settle therein upon particular conditions, may be one. If he has no such prerogative, I cannot discover how
the

the royal engagements can be made good, that “ the freedom “ and other benefits of the *British* constitution” shall be secured to those people who shall settle in a new country under such engagements; the freedom, and other benefits of the *British* constitution, cannot be secured to a people, without they are exempted from being taxed by any authority, but that of their representatives, chosen by themselves. This is an essential part of *British* freedom; but if the king cannot grant such an exemption, in right of his prerogative, the royal promises cannot be fulfilled; and all charters which have been granted by our former kings, for this purpose, must be deceptions upon the subjects who accepted them, which to say, would be a high reflection upon the honour of the crown. But there was a time, when some parts of *England* itself were exempt from the laws of parliament: the inhabitants of the county palatine of *Chester* were not subject to such laws * *ab antiquo*, because they did not send representatives to parliament, but had their own *commune concilium*; by whose authority, with the consent of their earl, their laws were made. If this exemption was not derived originally from the crown, it must have arisen from that great principle in the *British* constitution, by which the freemen in the nation are not subject to any laws, but such as are made by representatives elected by themselves to parliament; so that in either case, it is an instance extremely applicable to the colonies, who contend for no other right, but that of directing their *internal* government by laws made with their own consent, which has been preserved to them by repeated acts and declarations of the crown.

The constitution of the colonies, being established upon the principles of *British* liberty, has never been infringed by the immediate act of the crown; but the powers of government, agreeably to this constitution, have been constantly declared in the king’s commissions to their governors, which, as often as they pass the great seal, are *new* declarations and confirmations of the rights of the colonies. Even in the reign of *Charles* the second, a time by no means favourable to liberty, these rights of the colonies were maintained inviolate; for when it was thought necessary to establish a permanent revenue for the support of government in *Virginia*, the king did not apply to the *English* parliament, but to the general assembly; and sent over an act, under the great seal of *England*, by which it was enacted, “ by the king’s most excellent majesty, by and with the consent of the general assem-

* *Petyt’s Rights of the Commons. King’s Vale Royal of England.*
“ bly.”

“ bly,” that two shillings per hogthead upon all tobacco exported, one shilling and three-pence per ton upon shipping, and six-pence per poll for every person imported, not being actually a mariner in pay, were to be paid for ever as a revenue, for the support of the government in the colony.

I have taken notice of this act, not only because it shows the proper fountain from whence all supplies to be raised in the colonies ought to flow, but also as it affords an instance, that royalty itself did not disdain formerly to be named as a part of the legislature of the colony; though now, to serve a purpose destructive of their rights, and to introduce principles of despotism unknown to a free constitution, the legislature of the colonies are degraded even below the corporation of a petty borough in *England*.

It must be admitted, that after the restoration, the colonies lost that liberty of commerce with foreign nations, they had enjoyed before that time.

As it became a fundamental law of the other states of *Europe*, to prohibit all foreign trade with their colonies, *England* demanded such an exclusive trade with her colonies. This was effected by the act of 25th *Charles* 2d, and some other subsequent acts; which not only circumscribed the trade of the colonies with foreign nations within very narrow limits, but imposed duties upon several articles of their own manufactory exported from one colony to another. These acts, which imposed severer restrictions upon the trade of the colonies, than were imposed upon the trade of *England*, deprived the colonies, so far as these restrictions extended, of the privileges of *English* subjects, and constituted an unnatural difference between men under the same allegiance, born equally free, and entitled to the same civil rights. In this light did the people of *Virginia* view the act of 25th *Charles* 2d, when they sent agents to the *English* court, to represent against “ taxes and impositions being laid on the colony by any authority but that of their general assembly.” The right of imposing internal duties upon their trade, by authority of parliament, was then disputed, though you say it was never called into question; and the agents sent from *Virginia* upon this occasion, obtained a declaration from *Charles* 2d, the 19th of *April*, 1676, under his privy seal, that impositions or “ taxes ought not to be laid upon the inhabitants and proprietors of the colony, but by the common consent of the general assembly, except such impositions as the parliament should lay on the commodities imported into *England* from the colony :” and he ordered a charter to be made out, and

to pass the great seal, for securing this right, among others, to the colony.

But whether the act of 25th *Charles* 2d, or any of the other acts, have been complained of as infringements of the rights of the colonies or not, is immaterial; for if a man of superior strength takes my coat from me, that cannot give him a right to my cloak, nor am I obliged to submit to be deprived of all my estate, because I may have given up some part of it without complaint. Besides, I have proved irrefragably, that the colonies are not represented in parliament, and consequently, upon your own position, that no new law can bind them, that is made without the concurrence of their representatives; and if so, then every act of parliament that imposes *internal* taxes upon the colonies, is an act of *power*, and not of *right*. I must speak freely; I am considering a question which affects the *rights* of above two millions of as *loyal* subjects as belong to the *British* crown, and must use terms adequate to the importance of it; I say, that *power*, abstracted from *right*, cannot give a just title to dominion. If a man invades my property, he becomes an aggressor, and puts himself into a state of war with me: I have a right to oppose this invader; if I have not strength to repel him, I must submit; but he acquires no right to my estate which he has usurped. Whenever I recover strength, I may renew my claim, and attempt to regain my possession; if I am never strong enough, my son, or his son, may, when able, recover the natural right of his ancestor, which has been unjustly taken from him.

I hope I shall not be charged with insolence, in delivering the sentiments of an honest mind with freedom: I am speaking of the *rights* of a people: *rights* imply *equality*, in the instances to which they belong, and must be treated without respect to the dignity of the persons concerned in them. If "the *British* empire in *Europe* and in *America* is the same power;" if the "subjects in both are the same people, and" "all equally participate in the adversity and prosperity of the whole," what distinctions can the difference of their situations make, and why is this distinction made between them? Why is the trade of the colonies more circumscribed than the trade of *Britain*? And why are impositions laid upon the one, which are not laid upon the other? If the parliament "have" "a *right* to impose taxes of *every kind* upon the colonies," they ought in justice, as the same people, to have the same sources to raise them from: their commerce ought to be equally free with the commerce of *Britain*, otherwise it will be loading them with burthens, at the same time that they are deprived

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deprived of strength to sustain them; it will be forcing them to make bricks without straw. I acknowledge the parliament is the sovereign legislative power of the *British* nation, and that by a full exertion of their power, they can deprive the colonists of the freedom, and other benefits of the *British* constitution, which have been secured to them by our kings; they can abrogate all their civil rights and liberties; but by what *right* is it, that the parliament can exercise such a power over the colonists, who have as natural a right to the liberties and privileges of *Englishmen*, as if they were actually resident within the kingdom? The colonies are subordinate to the authority of parliament; subordinate I mean in degree, but not absolutely so: for if by a vote of the *British* senate, the colonists were to be delivered up to the rule of a *French* or *Turkish* tyranny, they may refuse obedience to such a vote, and may oppose the execution of it by force. Great is the power of parliament, but, great as it is, it cannot, constitutionally, deprive the people of their *natural* rights; nor, in virtue of the same principle, can it deprive them of their *civil* rights, which are founded in compact, without their own consent. There is, I confess, a considerable difference between these two cases, as to the right of resistance: in the first, if the colonists should be dismembered from the nation, by act of parliament, and abandoned to another power, they have a natural right to defend their liberties by open force, and may lawfully resist; and, if they are able, repel the power to whose authority they are abandoned. But in the other, if they are deprived of their civil rights, if great and manifest oppressions are imposed upon them by the state on which they are dependent, their remedy is to lay their complaints at the foot of the throne, and to suffer patiently, rather than disturb the public peace, which nothing but a denial of justice can excuse them in breaking. But if this justice should be denied, if the most humble and dutiful representations should be rejected, nay, not even deigned to be received, what is to be done? To such a question, *Thucydides* would make the *Corinthians* reply, that if “a decent and
“ condescending behaviour is shown on the part of the colonies, it would be base in the mother-state to press too far
“ on such moderation:” And he would make the *Corcyreans* answer, that “every colony, whilst used in a proper manner, ought to pay honour and regard to its mother state;
“ but, when treated with injury and violence, is become an
“ alien. They were not sent out to be the slaves, but to be
“ the equals of those that remain behind.”

But,

But, according to your scheme, the colonies are to be prohibited from uniting in a representation of their general grievances to the common sovereign. This moment "the British empire in *Europe* and in *America* is the same power; its subjects in both are the same people; each is equally important to the other; and mutual benefits, mutual necessities, cement their connection." The next moment "the colonies are unconnected with each other, different in their manners, opposite in their principles, and clash in their interests and in their views, from rivalry in trade, and the jealousy of neighbourhood. This happy division, which was effected by accident, is to be continued throughout by design; and all bond of union between them" is excluded from your vast system. *Divide et impera* is your maxim in colony administration, lest "an alliance should be formed dangerous to the mother-country." Ungenerous insinuation! detestable thought! abhorrent to every native of the colonies! who, by an uniformity of conduct, have ever demonstrated the deepest loyalty to their king, as the father of his people, and an unshaken attachment to the interest of *Great-Britain*. But you must entertain a most despicable opinion of the understandings of the colonists, to imagine, that they will allow divisions to be fomented between them about inconsiderable things, when the closest union becomes necessary to maintain, in a constitutional way, their dearest interests.

Another writer *, fond of his new system of placing *Great-Britain* as the center of attraction to the colonies, says, that "they must be guarded against having or forming any principle of coherence with each other, above that whereby they cohere in the centre; having no other principle of intercommunication between each other, than that by which they are in joint communication with *Great-Britain*, as the common centre of all. At the same time that they are each, in their respective parts and subordinations, so framed, as to be acted by this first mover, they should always remain incapable of any coherence, or of so conspiring amongst themselves, as to create any other equal force which might recoil back on this first mover; nor is it more necessary to preserve the several governments subordinate within their respective orbs, than it is essential to the preservation of the empire to keep them disconnected and independent of each other." But how is this "principle of coherence," as this elegant writer calls it, between

* *The Administration of the Colonies by Governor Pownall.*

the colonies, to be prevented? The colonies upon the continent of *North-America*, lie united to each other in one tract of country, and are equally concerned to maintain their common liberty. If he will attend then to the laws of attraction in natural as well as political philosophy, he will find, that bodies in contact, and cemented by mutual interests, cohere more strongly than those which are at a distance, and have no common interests to preserve. But this natural law is to be destroyed; and the colonies, whose *real* interests are the same, and therefore ought to be united in the closest communication, are to be disjoined, and all intercommunication between them prevented. But how is this system of administration to be established? Is it to be done by a military force, quartered upon private families? Is it to be done by extending the jurisdiction of courts of admiralty, and thereby depriving the colonists of legal trials in the courts of common law? Or is it to be done by harrassing the colonists, and giving overbearing tax-gatherers an opportunity of ruining men, perhaps better subjects than themselves, by dragging them from one colony to another, before prerogative judges, exercising a despotic sway in inquisitorial courts? Oppression has produced very great and unexpected events: the *Helvetick* confederacy, the states of the *United Netherlands*, are instances in the annals of *Europe*, of the glorious actions a petty people, in comparison, can perform, when united in the cause of liberty. May the colonies ever remain under a constitutional subordination to *Great-Britain*! It is their interest to live under such a subordination; and it is their duty, by an exertion of all their strength and abilities, when called upon by their common sovereign, to advance the grandeur and the glory of the nation. May the interests of *Great-Britain* and her colonies be ever united, so as that whilst they are retained in a legal and just dependance, no unnatural or unlimited rule may be exercised over them; but that they may enjoy the freedom, and other benefits of the *British* constitution, to the latest page in history!

I flatter myself, by what has been said, your position of a *virtual* representation is sufficiently refuted; and that there is really no such representation known in the *British* constitution, and consequently, that the colonies are not subject to an *internal* taxation by authority of parliament.

I could extend this enquiry to a much greater length, by examining into the policy of the late acts of parliament, which impose heavy and severe taxes, duties, and prohibitions, upon the colonies: I could point out some very disagreeable consequences, respecting the trade and manufactures
of

of Britain, which must necessarily result from these acts; I could prove, that the revenues arising from the trade of the colonies, and the advantage of their exports to *Great-Britain*, in the balance of her trade with foreign nations, exceed infinitely all the expence she has been at, all the expence she can be at, in their protection; and perhaps I could shew, that the bounties given upon some articles exported from the colonies, were not intended, primarily, as instances of attention to their interest, but arose as well from the consideration of the disadvantageous dependance of *Great-Britain* upon other nations for the principal articles of her naval stores, as from her losing trade for those articles; I could demonstrate, that these bounties are by no means adequate to her savings in such foreign trade, if the articles upon which they are given, can be procured from the colonies, in quantities sufficient to answer her consumption; and that the excess of these savings is so much clear profit to the nation, upon the supposition that these bounties are drawn from it; but, as they will remain in it, and be laid out in its manufactures and exports, that the whole sum which used to be paid to foreigners, for the purchase of these articles, will be saved to the nation. I say, I could extend my enquiry, by examining these several matters; but as the subject is delicate, and would carry me to a great length, I shall leave them to the reader's own reflection.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

Boston, New-England, Oct. 31. Last Friday the following address was presented to Gen. Gage, by several gentlemen of the council, in behalf of themselves, and the other members who subscribed to it, being all that were present:

To his Excellency Gen. Gage, commander in chief of his Majesty's forces in America,

The address of the subscribers, members of his Majesty's council of the province of the Massachusetts-Bay.

S I R,

A General council being held yesterday, gives the distant members of it, together with members in the town and neighbourhood, the pleasure of addressing you. We take the first opportunity of doing it, and at the same time to pay our compliments to your Excellency.

In this time of public distress, when the general court of the province is in a state of dissolution, when the metropolis is possessed with troops, and surrounded by ships of war, and

when more troops are daily expected, it affords a general satisfaction that your Excellency has visited the province, and has now an opportunity of knowing the state of it, by your own observation and enquiry.

Your own observation will give you the fullest evidence, that the town and province are in a peaceful state. Your own enquiry will satisfy you, that though there have been disorders in the town of Boston, some of them did not merit notice; and that such as did, have been magnified beyond the truth.

Those of the 18th of March and 10th of June, are said to have occasioned the abovementioned armament to be ordered hither; the first was trivial, and could not have been noticed to the disadvantage of the town, but by persons inimical to it, especially as it happened in the evening of a day of recreation; the other was criminal, and the actors in it were guilty of a riot; but we are obliged to say, it had its rise from those persons who are loudest in their complaints about it, and who, by their overcharged representations of it, have been the occasion of so great an armament being ordered hither; we cannot persuade ourselves to believe, they have sufficient evidence to support such representations which have most unjustly brought into question the loyalty of as loyal a people as any in his Majesty's dominions.

This misfortune has arisen from the accusation of interested men, whose avarice having smothered in their breasts, every sentiment of humanity towards this province, has impelled them to oppress it to the utmost of their power, and by the consequence of that oppression, essentially to injure Great-Britain.

From the candour of your Excellency's sentiments, we assure ourselves, you will not entertain any apprehension that we mean to justify the disorders and riotous proceedings that have taken place in the town of Boston; we detest them, and have repeatedly and publicly expressed that detestation, and in council have advised Governor Bernard to order the attorney-general to prosecute the perpetrators of them; but, at the same time, we are obliged to declare, in justice to the town, that the disorders of the 10th of June last, occasioned by a seizure made by the officers of the customs, appear to have originated with those who ordered the seizure to be made; the hour at making the seizure at or near sun-set; the threats and armed force used in it; the forcibly carrying the vessel away, and all in a manner unprecedented, and calculated to irritate justly the apprehension that the seizure was accompanied with those extraordinary circumstances, in order to ex-

cite

cite a riot, and furnish plausible pretences for requiring troops a day or two after the riot; and, as if in prosecution of the last-mentioned purpose, notwithstanding there was not the least insult offered to the commissioners of the customs, either in their persons or property, they thought fit to retire on the pretence of security to themselves, on board the Romney man of war, and afterwards to Castle-William; and when there, to keep up the idea of their being still in great hazard, procured the Romney, and several other vessels of war, to be stationed, as if to prevent an attack upon the castle, which they affected to be afraid of.

These proceedings have doubtless taken place, to induce a belief among the officers of the navy and army, as they occasionally came hither, that the commissioners were in danger of being attacked, and procure from those officers, representations coincident with their own, that they really were so; but their frequent landing on the main, and making incursions into the country, where it would have been easy to seize them, if any injury had been intended, demonstrates the insincerity of the declarations, that they immured themselves at the castle for safety; this is rather to be accounted for, as being an essential part of the concerted plan for procuring troops to be quartered here, in which they and their coadjutors have succeeded to their wish, but unhappily for the mutual detriment and uneasiness of both countries.

We thought it absolutely necessary, and our duty to the town and province, requires us to give your Excellency this detail, that you might know the sentiments of this people, and that they think themselves injured, and injured by men to whom they have done no injury. From the justness of your Excellency, we assure ourselves, your mind will not admit the impressions to their disadvantage, from persons who have done the injury.

Your Excellency, in your letter to Governor Bernard, of the 12th of September, gave notice, that one of the regiments from Halifax, was ordered, for the present, to Castle-William, and the other to the town, but you was pleased afterwards, to order them into the town.

If your Excellency, when you know the true state of the town, which we can assure you is quite peaceable, should think his Majesty's service does not require those regiments to continue in the town, it will be a great ease and satisfaction to the inhabitants, if you will please to order them to Castle-William, where commodious barracks are provided for their reception, or to Point Shirley, in the neighbourhood of it, in either of which, or in both, they can be well accommodated.

As

As to the two regiments expected here from Ireland, it appears from Lord Hillsborough's letter, of the 30th of July, they were intended for a different part of North America.

If your Excellency should think it not inconsistent with his Majesty's service, that they should be sent to the place of their first destination, it will contribute to the ease and happiness of the town and province, if they might be ordered thither.

As we are true and faithful subjects of his Majesty, have an affectionate regard for the mother-country, and a tender feeling for our own, our duty to each of them makes us wish, and we earnestly beg your Excellency to make a full enquiry into the disorders abovementioned, into the causes of them, and the representations that have been made about them; in doing which, your Excellency will easily discover who are the persons, that, from lucrative views, have combined against the peace of the town and province, some of whom, it is probable, have discovered themselves already, by their own letter to your Excellency.

In making the enquiry, though many imprudencies and some criminal proceedings may be found to have taken place, we are persuaded from the candour, generosity, and justice, which distinguishes your character, your Excellency will not charge the doings of a few individuals, and those of an inferior sort, upon the town and province; and with regard to those individuals, if any circumstance shall appear justly to extenuate the criminality of their proceedings, your Excellency will let them have their effects; and on the same candour and generosity we can rely, that your Excellency's representation of this affair to his Majesty's ministers will be such, as even the criminals themselves will allow just. Signed

J. Danforth,	G. Bradford,	J. Badbury,
J. Hill,	T. Hubbard,	R. Tyler,
J. Royal,	N. Sparhawk,	S. White,
J. Erving,	H. Grey,	J. Pitts,
J. Bowdon,	J. Russell,	S. Dexter.

Boston, Oct. 27.

To the foregoing address, the General gave the following answer:

Gentlemen,

I return you thanks for the honour you do me in this address, and am greatly obliged to you for the good opinion you are pleased to conceive of me.

Whatever may have been the particular cause of the disturbances and riots which have happened in the town of Boston, those riots and resolves which were published, have induced
his

his Majesty to order four regiments to this town, to protect his loyal subjects in their persons and properties, and to assist the civil magistrate in the execution of the laws.

The discipline and order which will be preserved among the troops, I trust, will render their stay in no shape disrespectful to his Majesty's dutiful subjects in this town, and that the future behaviour of the people, will justify the best construction of their past actions, which I flatter myself will be such, as to afford me a sufficient foundation to represent to his Majesty, the propriety of withdrawing most part of the troops.

Signed,

Boston, Oct. 27.

THOMAS GAGE.

To the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

SIR,

If the following abstract of a letter from General Paoli, coincides with your plan, it is at your service.

Lettre de Général PAOLI.

MONSIEUR,

IL n'est pas douteux que vous ne connoissiez mes véritables sentimens sur la situation de nos affaires. Je n'ai pas joué le personnage d'un héros de roman, d'un Quixote ou d'un Amadis ; rien de plus réel que l'objet de ma poursuite ; mais, si en poursuivant un objet réel, je ne poursuis en réalité qu'une chimère, je me trompe à la vérité, mais mon erreur ne m'occasionnera jamais à trahir la cause commune. Que sont la plupart de nos poursuites ? Sinon de brillantes chimères qui n'ont de réalité qu'autant que notre imagination vive et séduite leur prête. Dans cette supposition, je poursuis mon premier plan, et si la liberté qui est mon objet ne se trouve nulle part, je regarderai toujours comme ennemi celui qui voudra entreprendre de me desillier les yeux : laissez-moi jouir de ma chimère, elle a pour moi de la réalité.

Les offres que l'on m'a faites me sont injurieuses et répugnent à l'esprit de cette liberté qui circule avec mon sang dans mes veines, et y circulera avec la dernière goutte. Vous semblez ne peu connoître le courage des Corfès, si vous les croyez capable de se soumettre à un joug étranger. Gènes a vu briser ses efforts contre notre valeur et notre amour de la liberté : irions-nous nous soumettre à une autre puissance qui vient nous offrir ses chaînes ? Les rocs qui m'environnent ; s'écrou-
leroient

leroient plutôt que de trahir une cause qui m'est commune avec le dernier des Corfès. Non, je ne deviendrai jamais le vil destructeur de ma patrie, après en avoir été le généreux défenseur. Si un homme étoit capable de m'affervir sous le joug, ce seroit le comte de Marbeuf, et le roi son maître ne pouvoit choisir un homme plus enchanteur : mais, vous le savez, on ne connoit le prix de la liberté que comme celui de la santé ; quand on les a perdues : l'une et l'autre sont les plus précieuses jouissances de la vie. Que les vils esclaves des volontés de leurs maîtres rampent à leurs pieds, qu'ils renoncent à l'appanage de l'humanité ; pour moi, j'ai appris à être libre, je sais l'être, et pour mourir libre, je sacrifierois mille vies, si je les avois ; je n'en ai qu'une, et tant qu'un souffle animera mon individu, son dernier effort sera pour la liberté.

Soyez persuadé, Monsieur, que je serai toujours inébranlable. L'or perd son éclat, quand il est offert comme prix de la liberté. Les honneurs ne peuvent éblouir que des foux, si on ne peut se les procurer qu'en renonçant aux droits de l'humanité. Qu'importe que je commande à un tas de vils esclaves qui viendroient ramper à mes pieds, si un quart d'heure après, je suis obligé d'aller ramper à mon tour aux pieds d'un autre d'un degré plus haut que moi. Si je tombe la victime de la liberté, je tomberai noblement et apprendrai aux autres à se sacrifier pour la cause commune. Notre amour pour la liberté subsistera parmi les débris de notre patrie, il se ranimera dans le feu, renaîtra de ses cendres, croîtra sous le fer. D'un héros tué naîtront mille rejettons d'héroïsme ; et ce que disoit Tertulien des martyrs de l'église primitive, leur sang deviendra fécond : les héros ne manqueront jamais en Corfè.

THE TRANSLATION.

S I R,

YOU are, without doubt, acquainted with my true sentiments on the situation of our affairs. My character has not been that of a hero of romance, a Quixote, or an Amadis. There is nothing more real than the object I pursue : but if, instead of a real object, I pursue a chimera, I am deceived indeed ; yet my error shall never cause me to desert the common cause. What are for the most part the objects of our pursuits, but dazzling chimeras, which have no other existence, than that, which our lively and deceived imagination lends them ? Upon this principle, I will pursue my first plan ; and if that liberty which I seek, is not to be found any where, I still shall account him my enemy, that will undertake

undertake to remove the delusion from my sight ! Let me enjoy this dream, which, to me, seems so much like truth.

The offers that have been made me, are both injurious to me, and repugnant to that spirit of liberty, which circulates with my blood in my veins, and which shall circulate with it to the last drop. You little know the courage of the Corsicans, if you can believe they will ever submit to a foreign yoke. All the efforts of Genoa have proved ineffectual, against their valour and love of liberty ; and shall we then submit to another power that comes to offer us its chains ? The rocks that surround me, shall melt away, ere I will betray a cause which I hold in common with the lowest Corsican. No ; I never will become the base destroyer of my country, after having been the generous defender of it. If any man was capable of enslaving me, it would be the Comte de Marbeuf ; and the king his master could not have chosen a more enchanting man : but, you know, Sir, the price of liberty, like health, is only known when lost ; they are the most precious enjoyments of life. Let the mean slaves of their masters wills fawn at their feet, and renounce the natural rights of humanity ; as for me, I have learnt to be free ; I know how to live so ; and to die free, I would sacrifice ten lives if I had them : I have but one, but that shall not survive my liberty. Be assured, Sir, I shall ever be immovable. Gold loses its splendor, when offered as the price of liberty. Honours are only able to dazzle fools, if they are not to be obtained but by renouncing the privileges of human nature. What does it signify to me, that I am able to command a multitude of slaves, who shall come and humiliate themselves at my feet, if, in a quarter of an hour afterwards, I am forced, in my turn, to humble myself at the feet of another, one degree higher than myself ? If I fall the victim of liberty, I shall fall nobly, and teach others to sacrifice themselves to the common cause. Our love of liberty will subsist, even among the ruins of our country ; it will be enlivened by fire, be born again of the ashes, and will grow, though in irons. Of one slaughtered hero will be produced a thousand ; and as Tertulian said of the primitive martyrs of the church, Their blood will be fruitful, and heroes will never be wanting in Corsica.

The following authentic papers, concerning the Middlesex election, we have inserted, as being worthy of preservation.

To the plain INDEPENDENT FREEHOLDER.

I Return you my thanks for your letter to Mr. Serjeant Glynn, because you will give the freeholders of Middlesex an opportunity of forming an impartial and well-weighed judgment on
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the merits and pretensions of the present candidates for their county: for truth, says Harrington, is a spark, to which objections are like bellows, that only serve to blow it up into a flame, and make it shine the brighter. My particular compliments are due to you, for allowing, that I have put this controversy upon a fair footing, and for *joining issue* with me, and agreeing to rest the matter on the three points I have mentioned,—namely—on the different *INTEREST* that supports them, on the *ABILITIES*, and on the *PUBLIC CONDUCT* of each of the candidates. You agree with me, that these are the proper subjects for the consideration of the uninfluenced and uncorrupted freeholders of the county. I must entreat you, therefore, not to confound matters, but to keep them as distinct as you can. I am forced to beg this favour of you, because, in your very first letter, you wander strangely from the plan you have there promised to pursue. Instead of confining yourself to the *INTEREST* that supports Mr. Glynn, you employ yourself chiefly in a justification of Sir William Beauchamp Proctor, an accusation of Mr. Wilkes, and an attack upon the character of the *Plain, common Freeholder*: and this I apprehend you do for the sake of confusion. I shall therefore endeavour to separate and distinguish the different parts of your letter; for as it is your business to embroil and to puzzle, it is mine to keep things plain, distinct, and clear.

I will begin with your attack on myself.

I.

The *Plain, common Freeholder*, is, as you suppose, the very person who was examined before the grand jury of Middlesex, on the bill of indictment preferred against justice Gillam.

Not long since, an anonymous writer (perhaps yourself) abused me for being, as he termed it, *no flincher*; and now you accuse me of being a *flincher*; of being one, who “did not dare to stand an examination in open court.”

I have already promised to give to the public, at large, a circumstantial account of that whole business; and it is my intention to fulfil that promise, that you may judge whether I dare to stand an examination, not only in open court, but before the whole world.

II.

You bring a second charge against the *Plain, common Freeholder*, and say, that he has been guilty of “a ridiculous absurdity, in acknowledging that he performed the gentleman-like office of dogging Sir William about the town.”

When the writ for Middlesex was to have been moved for in the house of commons, it was thought necessary that some persons should be called in, to declare, on their own knowledge, whether Sir William did, or did not, intend to petition. For that purpose, I went, with another freeholder, towards Sir William's house, to be informed of his resolution. In the way thither, (in Bond-street) we met Sir William, with some company. He knew us: and bowed to us. We returned the salute; but could not, without rudeness, have stopped him in the street. However, to
shew

shew him our desire of speaking to him, we followed him at a small distance, and he saw us following. When he went into the duke of Grafton's, (in Bond-street) we crossed the way, and continued walking to and fro, opposite to the duke of Grafton's house, near two hours, still hoping to speak with Sir William, when he should come out. At last he came, but still with company. We bowed to him again, and he to us. We again followed him down Bond-street, supposing that he was going to his own house, and that we might then have an opportunity of speaking to him there. He saw us following again, and stopped at the corner of Bruton-street, near five minutes. I suppose he was debating with himself, whether he should, or should not, hear what we had to say.—He determined not to hear us,—and therefore, instead of turning down Bruton-street to his own house, he went up Conduit-street. Finding ourselves thus disappointed, we returned again to the house of commons.

Now, Sir, you may, if you please, call this “the gentleman-like office of dogging Sir William about the town.”

The public, I believe, will agree with you.

III.

I now come to your charge against Mr. Wilkes.

You dare not assert it; but you would have it understood, that there is a connection between Mr. Wilkes and the French ambassador; and that the French court supports Mr. Glynn's election.

——Good Mr. *Independent Freeholder*, if you know of any intercourse between them, explain it to us.—For shame! learn at least to be consistent in your malice.—One day we are told, that Mr. Wilkes was forced to escape by night from Paris, for fear of being arrested for his debts there; and the next, we are informed, that Mr. Wilkes is supported by the French court.

The same ministry that made the last peace with the French, are they who have all along persecuted Mr. Wilkes; and one great reason for *their* particular enmity, was the many bitter and severe North Britons he wrote against that peace, and the interest of the French nation. And now we are told, that the French court supports their dangerous adversary against their assured friends, the Bloomsbury peace-making gang.

The idea is too absurd; and the insult offered to the understanding of the freeholders is as gross, as if you were to tell them, that the bogglebooes are coming to run away with them.

What must we think of a formal quadruple alliance, entered into between the French king, Mr. Wilkes, Mr. Serjeant Glynn, and the humble parson of Brentford?

But is there not a fifth person whom you would chuse to associate likewise with them in this treaty? What say you to the pickpocket, who stole the French king's picture from the duke of Bedford, at the masquerade? Should not he, too, be supposed to be one in this alliance? And do you not really think, that it was a contrivance of the French court, to withdraw from that nobleman this mark of their monarch's friendship, esteem, and gratitude, which he received, after signing the late peace of Versailles, in order to bestow it on one of his new allies?

IV.

Your justification of Sir William Beauchamp Proctor, should have been confined to the INTEREST that supports him, and to his ABILITIES; for hitherto the objections to him have been built on those two grounds only. It will be time enough for you to defend his PUBLIC CONDUCT, and you will have difficulty enough to do it, after it has been examined: but you chuse artfully to mix and to confound all sorts of things together; and seem to think childishly, that by wilfully shutting your own eyes, you can hinder others from seeing.

One thing, however, is very extraordinary, that whilst you, with the politeness you promised, call my first letter, "a composition of falshood and malevolence," you do yourself unwittingly prove the truth of it; for you who are so strenuous in the interest of Sir William Beauchamp Proctor, are likewise as strenuous in the justification of the murders committed in St. George's fields.

You ask Mr. Glynn—"Can you, Sir, as a good citizen, call that a *massacre*, which you saw justified in open court?"

Yes—I will venture to answer for him, he does both think it and call it a *massacre*; and I live in full assurance to hear him in the house of commons, call to a severe account, the *contrivers, perpetrators, and abettors* of that most wanton and bloody cruelty, in spite of all the opposition which you, and the other justifiers of that day's transactions, and the subsequent law proceedings, can make to his election.

I was an eye-witness, and shared in the peril of that day's business, and have been taught to hold my own life cheap, by seeing how cheaply the blood of his majesty's harmless subjects was held by the *magistrates there*, and how scandalously it has been disregarded and shuffled with *elsewhere*.

V.

Your objections to Mr. Glynn, are given in the same vague, confused, and general manner, as your justification of Sir William. When I have done with Sir William's PUBLIC CONDUCT, and another point which I have to settle with him, I will then consider fairly whatever justification you can offer for him, and whatever objections you can bring to Mr. serjeant Glynn.

If you have no other topics for either, than those I have hitherto heard suggested, I shall find not much difficulty in the task.

And now, Sir, I have a few favours to beg of you, 1. That you will continue to write your letters to Mr. serjeant Glynn: 2. That you will write distinctly and with precision, so as not to confound together different charges and different persons, as you have done in your first letter, justifying one man for what others are accused of: 3. That you will descend to particulars, and not keep at a distance with general assertions: 4. That you will please to give us your name, or some distinguishing mark to know you by, that we may be on an equal footing; and that the public may be able to judge of the *Independency* you boast, and of the *motives* which actuate your conduct; for till this last request is complied with, you not only take a very unfair advantage, but will leave

leave the world to suppose, that you are some ministerial or interested hireling, and not as you declare yourself, like me.

A Plain, Common Freeholder.

L E T T E R III.

To Sir W. Beauchamp Proctor, Baronet, and Knight of the Bath.

S I R,

THE personal enquiry into your ABILITIES contained in my last * letter, was a task extremely painful to me; nor should any thing have forced me to it, except your proposing yourself a candidate to represent this county in parliament. Such a proposal supposes you possessed of an opinion, that you are equal to the office you solicit; and common humanity to you, as well as justice to the county, obliged me to undeceive you, and to dissuade you from taking up a burden which you are not able to bear.

I am sensible, that this my correspondence with you, will raise up against me the resentment of two sorts of persons: for “*the good-natured* are apt to be alarmed at any thing that looks like satire; and the *guilty* readily concur with the *weak*, for a plain reason; because the *vicious* look upon folly as their frontier.”

But I am very indifferent about the sentiments of these men, as long as I am persuaded that there are still left others, in the world, who have both honesty enough to approve my motives, and sense enough to justify my conduct. And such I believe there are. For I never yet could be brought to entertain that opinion, which *knaves* and *fools* are so industrious to propagate—that the whole race of mankind is divided between themselves. But on the contrary, I have always thought that he who maintains such doctrine, proves only, that there is indeed one person in the world no better than he should be.

Some of your friends, with equal honesty and wisdom, have endeavoured to establish this degrading maxim; and they have been led to do it for your support: for being desirous to lessen the expectations which the freeholders entertain from the integrity of Mr. serjeant Glynn; and not having one single accusation to bring against him, (for as yet we have not heard even the rumour or surmise of a fault) they were forced to class all mankind at once under one of these general heads; and then the consequence followed very naturally, that as it was impossible to suspect him of being a fool, he must necessarily be a knave: and if so, it ceases to be a question, whether he does or does not “*long to be cloistered*, as Sir William was, *with the first lord of the treasury*.”

But what is extremely laughable, these wiseacres, as soon as they have established, as they think, their position, and drawn their consequence, immediately fly in the face of their own reasoning; and endeavour to prove, that you, Sir William, are neither *one* nor the *other*.

Impartial and polite as they profess themselves, such has been their method. Scurrilous and malicious as they term me, they shall not find me following their example. In my examination

* See the POLITICAL REGISTER, Vol. III. page 311.

of your PUBLIC CONDUCT, I will not pretend to foresee what you *will do*, and what you *may be*, but what you *have done*, and what you *are*. I will not deal in general assertions, without proof, but confine myself to particular authenticated facts; nor will I multiply them unnecessarily — when your advocates call for more, they shall have them. At present, I will give only one instance of ill behaviour in each part of your PUBLIC CONDUCT which I blame. It is true, that single instance will be like one mortal wound, which, in its power to kill, is equal to an hundred.

I blame your PUBLIC CONDUCT both when you were *in the house*, and when *out of the house*.

In the house, as a representative of this county in particular, for SLIGHTING and DECEIVING your constituents, and as a public guardian of the rights of the whole nation, for BETRAYING those rights, by faults of OMISSION and COMMISSION.

Out of the house, for your behaviour when you were a candidate *without opposition*; and for your behaviour now that you are a candidate *with opposition*.

In the House,

As a Representative of this County in particular, SLIGHTING your Constituents.

It is natural enough to suppose, that he who “*does not covet a seat in parliament,*” in order to be useful to his country, but merely to have “*the HONOUR of representing a respectable county,*” should be as much mistaken in the exercise of his office, as in declaring such his motive for demanding it; and make it turn out as little *honourable* to himself as useful to his constituents.

But if I have a just idea of the office of a representative of the people, and of the motives which influence *their* choice, they do not elect him merely that they may do him HONOUR, but that he may *do* their business.

The honest people of Uxbridge, in their application to Sir William, seem to have entertained the same opinion with myself; and full of the idea of representation, expected to meet with as easy admittance into the house of their member, as they had procured for him into the house of commons. In this they were much disappointed: for as he had never paid them a visit, he desired none from them. HONOUR, not business, was his object; and as the company of plain, common freeholders, could not be *honourable* to him, he was determined at least it should not be troublesome. The servant, who, at their request, had been to enquire, returned to them with an answer, that Sir William was not at home. Though disappointed, they were not dissatisfied; and would have trodden back again the fifteen weary miles they came, without a murmur. They might come back again the next day, or the next week, or every day in every week — Sir William’s feet would not be blistered. Impatience spoiled all; for whether Sir William was going to have the HONOUR of being *closetted with the first lord of the treasury*, or with some other *honourable* personage, or was eager to see his house cleared of such vermin; however it was, before the freeholders had entirely quitted the room,

room by one door, Sir William himself appeared at the other, and asked if they were gone.

Mr. ———, who both saw him and heard him, instantly answered—"No, Sir, we are not gone.—Come back, come back, Sir William is at home." They came back, but to no purpose; for the servant was constant in his answer, that Sir William was *not* at home.

This was neither at the eve of an election, nor could Sir William then apprehend a future opposition.

DECEIVING *your Constituents.*

I have often heard the people of Uxbridge complain of this treatment. On the contrary, they ought to be thankful, in comparison with the country brewers, who *were admitted*. The country brewers applied to Sir William for his assistance in their petition to parliament, to be put on the same footing with the brewers in town. These were too respectable and too considerable a set of men to be *sighted*; (and I believe he will find them too spirited to be *deceived* without resentment). They therefore were received, they were caressed, they were attended to, they were treated handsomely, they were encouraged to go on with their bill, and all manner of assistance and support was promised them. In the committee, the same appearances were still kept up; but when it came to a division of the house, the ministry, who in a matter of revenue, however partial and injurious, seldom consider any thing but the receipt of the revenue, or rather of the *officers of the revenue*; the ministry, I say, being against the petition, Sir William preferred the honour of dividing with the court, or rather the honours which such a step might procure him, to the honour of keeping his word, and performing his promise.

As a public Guardian of the Rights of the whole Nation, betraying those Rights by OMISSION.

This is an ample field indeed; and if I had undertaken to beat every part of it, a volume would scarce do justice to the subject: for I am not so ignorant of the history of my country, nor so inattentive to modern transactions, as not to know, that since the time of the *Stuarts*, there have not been so many and so flagrant abuses of power, as have been committed in this nation since the year 1760.

And yet the member for the first county in England has not found one opportunity to signalize himself in our defence. But I have confined myself to one single instance; and I will produce such an instance as our history cannot parallel: I mean the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes from the late house of commons.

Mr. Wilkes' crime is well known to have been his opposing and exposing the measures of lord Bute.

The two Humes, Johnson, Murphy, Ralph, Smollet, Shebbeare, &c. &c. all authors pensioned or promised, had been let loose on him in vain.

The lord steward of his majesty's household, (who has *therefore* continued in that post through every revolution of ministry) and the treasurer to the princess-dowager of Wales, who, together with

with that office, has a pension for himself, and a reversion for his son) had separately endeavoured to commit a murder on his body, with as little success as the others had attempted his reputation: for they found him *tam Marte quam Mercurio*.

The intended assassination of *Forbes* and *Dunn* had miscarried.

The secretaries of state had seized his papers, and confined his person to close imprisonment. They had trifled with and eluded the *habeas corpus*. But still he rose superior to them all: and baffled alone the insatiable malice of all his persecutors; for though they had in a manner ruined his private fortunes, his public character remained entire. They had spilt his blood indeed; but they had not taken his life: and with it still were left

“The unconquerable mind, and Freedom’s holy flame;”

It remained then, to make one general attack upon him at once, of every power of the state, each in its separate capacity. The revered name of Majesty itself was misapplied to this business. The house of —, the house of commons, and the court of —, through the little agency of Carrington, Kidge, Curry, Webb, Faden, S—d—h, made one general assault.

I ask, where then was the member for the county of Middlesex, who professes himself so “*assiduous of preserving the liberties of the people*?”

Did he approve the measure of expulsion? If he did not approve it, why did he not oppose it? If he approved it then, he will again. If he did not oppose it then, neither will he on a second attempt.

The greatest part of that *gang* who were the instruments of that dirty work, are now once more in power; and, it is probable, for the same purpose. And, indeed, what should prevent them from attempting it a second time? It cannot possibly be more illegal, more unconstitutional and unjust than it was before.

A message was said to be sent by the — to the house of commons. Of the pretended message itself (for I *will* not believe it true) I shall say nothing; but I do not hesitate to declare the minister who delivered it, a traitor to his country.

King Charles the first came himself in person, to seize five members of the house of commons, under a similar pretence of libelling and sedition.

Would it have been more constitutional, and would he have succeeded better with *that* parliament, if he had caused his secretaries of state to seize them and their papers by a general warrant, and commit them to close imprisonment before the meeting of the house; and then, after being released by due course of law, if he had sent a message to the commons to expel them, and to forbear any enquiry into the preceding violation of law and privilege?

Even the *penfionary* parliament of Charles the second were virtuous, compared to the last: for when violence was offered, by the king’s orders, to one of their members for a gross personal offence, they so far resented the violence, as to pass the famous

Covenant

Coventry act. And yet the offence committed was not on any public grounds, in opposition to some measure hurtful to the people: it was not an attack on the speech of a minister, but an unprovoked and wanton satire on the private and personal vices of his sovereign.

On this pretended message, however, Mr. Wilkes was expelled, without proof, without trial, for a crime of which the prosecution was then depending, and of which he was afterwards acquitted; nor has it ever been proved, to this day, that he was the *author* of N^o. 45.

And yet our *affiduous* member was silent, unapprehensive and contented throughout all these proceedings. The possession of a star, and the hopes of a coronet, with the assurance of ministerial support, had thrown him into a slumber so profound, that it could not be disturbed by all the murmurs of the people, and clamour of his constituents.

Perhaps I shall be told, that all this was done against a blasphemer of his God, and a libeller of his king.——It regards not the public *against whom*, or *by whom*, illegal actions are committed; nor is it a matter for their consideration; which is the best christian, Mr. Wilkes or lord S—d—h. But this it behoves them to be well apprized of, for their own safety, that he who, in these times, would avoid the imputation of blaspheming the one, or of libelling the other, must be careful to mention his God or his king never but in his prayers.

By C O M M I S S I O N.

We have been told, that Sir William did not vote for *this*, and that Sir William did not vote for *that*. We understand perfectly how much these sayings amount to. They mean no more, than that the ministers had tools fit for every purpose. They had horses for the pack, and horses for the saddle. The same season of the year which was judged by a minister altogether mild enough for the *borough members* to come forth and vote, was, by the advice of the same state physician, determined too inclement for the *members of counties* to stir abroad, because it frequently happened, that some measure was proposed in the house, which their *court politics* told them they must not vote *for*, and their *county-politics* assured them they must not vote *against*.

They were well instructed in the difference of their respective situations, and kept in mind our good old English proverb: and therefore, whilst the others were *stealing* the horse, these would not so much as *look over the hedge*.

The minister was as sensible of this difference, as the members; and frequently, with a papal indulgence, gave them dispensation and absolution even for the crime of voting against him in particular cases.

But where was the prudence of the minister, when he directed Sir William Beauchamp Proctor to vote away the privilege of parliament in the case of a libel? And with what arguments will the advocates of Sir William endeavour to justify him for such a measure?

If we examine this matter well, we shall find it difficult to determine which is greatest, the *weakness* or *wickedness* of this vote; and which we should most deplore in those who passed it, their want of *understanding* or *honesty*.

Let us consider a little, the power and privileges of the house of commons. I shall run no hazard in declaring, that the house of commons *alone* can make no law, alter no law, dispense with no law. They can neither give to themselves any privilege they have not, nor take away from themselves any privilege they have.

The privileges they enjoy were neither from themselves, nor for themselves, but from and for the people; for whose sake only that house, and every other part of the constitution, was originally framed, and should still continue. The house of lords and the house of commons are indeed respectively the only judges of their own privileges. They are the *judges*, not *creators*. Their vote in those cases is declarative, not legislative. A privilege does not become theirs, because they resolve it *shall be* so; but it was always theirs, and therefore they resolve it *to be* so. The very words of such resolutions are a sufficient proof of this; for they say always, "Resolved, that it *is* a privilege, &c." not that it *shall be*.

How extremely weak, then, must be the minister who directed, and the members who agreed to a resolution of this sort, which could only serve to cover them both with everlasting disgrace, without screening from enquiry and punishment, the minister or the judge who should presume to violate this privilege on the strength of such a resolution. Even Charles the first himself, when he would have seized the five members, and the judges of James the second, in the bishop's case, agreed that it was law, and had ever been held so, out of memory, that the privilege of parliament *did* extend to all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace. And it has lately been again solemnly adjudged to be so, in these our days, when almost all the old *Stuart* questions have been again revived; when the rights and liberties of the people confirmed to us, and sealed with the blood of our ancestors, are again to be debated, again contested; *I hope*, to be again confirmed, *I fear* by the blood of their posterity.

I shall not be at all surprised, if there should be found some judge hereafter hardy enough to abide by this resolution, and contradict the law to which he is bound by oath; but I shall be much surprised, indeed, if a virtuous parliament shall suffer a culprit, who had before violated this privilege, to be justified by this *ex post facto* resolution; or if they shall agree that their predecessors had, or that they themselves have, a power to vote away the privileges of the house of commons, or rather of the whole commons of England.

An *act of parliament* can limit and restrain; can alter old laws and enact new; but a house of commons *alone* never had, and never can have, this legislative power.

The measure itself was not more weak than its design was wicked: it was intended, at all events, to shelter from a parliamentary

mentary enquiry; *the first and great criminal*, his agents and associates; and at the same time to clear away all those legal impediments which hindered them from having their full blow at Mr. Wilkes.

In their eager pursuit of these objects they totally overlooked or disregarded the consequences to the people, to themselves, and their posterity. If the privilege of parliament in cases of libels is taken away, they will not have one effectual privilege left: it is more essentially necessary in this than in all other cases; for our best lawyers declare that, as things have been lately managed, they cannot pretend to say what may not be deemed a libel.

The malice is supposed, the falsehood unnecessary, and the jury are judges only of the fact, *i. e.* of the publication—the court will determine the law; so that the crime becomes as uncertain as the punishment, for they are both in the breast of the court.

In the *Welch Parson's* case (for *so* lord Mansfield chose to call him) last Easter term in the court of King's Bench, the *initial* letters of a *nick-name* were judged sufficient to determine the writing a libel.

Perhaps Sir William, and some others of those generous members, who like unthriftly sons, were prodigally squandering away what their forefathers had so carefully hoarded, might think themselves very safe from the suspicion of *writing* a libel. But they were not in the least the more secure; for though they could not write, they might innocently spell one over in a coffee-house from the public papers, or inclose it in a letter—and so become publishers, and so forfeit their privilege.

What a man may do, he may likewise be accused of, though he has not done it; and a minister needs not to be fortified with any greater powers than the pretence of a libel to enable him to seize, on the very eve of an interesting debate, the person of every member obnoxious to him in the house.

Out of the House.

Your Behaviour when a Candidate WITHOUT OPPOSITION.

It is usual for the candidates even of a court-borough, where they are chosen by ministerial mandate, to keep up however the farce of soliciting the votes of the place. In counties they generally send circular letters to all the voters whose names and abode are known. The expence of this is very small, and the trouble still less. The candidate writes only one letter, of which a *fac simile* is struck off, and addressed by the agent. Sir William would not pay even this poor compliment to his constituents; nor condescend to ask the favour of any Freeholder's vote. One should imagine he ought to have been pleased at the opportunity of a canvass, to testify his gratitude, and return his thanks to the Freeholders for their repeated favours in the course of twenty years. Instead of that, he neglected his own election, to go down and support that of Sir Armine Wodehouse at Norwich, whose electors were supposed to be more independent, and to require therefore that compliment and complaisance which the Free-

holders of Middlesex were not entitled to. When Mr. Wilkes declared himself a candidate, Sir William hurried back from Norwich, and made then more application to them in *three days*, than he had before found time to do in *thrice seven years*.

This treatment of the Freeholders is not more ungrateful and unthankful, than the reason he gave for it was ridiculous and false; for he signed his name to an advertisement, excusing himself for not having made a personal or any other application to them, and declaring that he did intend to have done it, had he not been prevented by the shortness of the time between the dissolution of parliament and the return of the writ.

Candidate *with opposition*.

If the neglect before was *blamable*, the manner in which he *spanders* his present application is highly *criminal*.

When Sir William was canvassing at Isleworth, he applied to one Mr. Elmer for his vote.—

El. Sir,— I am not a freeholder : — I have no vote.

Sir W. I hope you will give me your interest; speak to your friends for me.

El. I cannot think, sir, of asking a favour of them which I cannot return, having no vote myself.

Sir W. Will you come and dine with me?

El. I beg to be excused; I have seven men at work, and am forced to look after them.

Sir W. Pray, are not you bricklayer to the duke of Northumberland?

El. Yes, Sir.

Sir W. And will you not then give me your interest and come and dine with me? Do you know that it is in my power—

El. What, Sir, am I in your power? Do you come to threaten me?—Sir, I will not dine with you, nor will I give you my interest.

Mr. Elmer was immediately dismissed from the duke of Northumberland's service, by the following plain letter from his grace's steward:

" Mr. Elmer,

" My lord duke orders you to make out your bills, and bring them to me at Syon: Mr. Manwaring's wall must be by itself, and the bridge by itself.----His grace is very well acquainted with your whole behaviour, and will, when he comes down again, speak to you himself.

" Syon, Monday, Oct. 9th.

CHRIS: FAIRCHILD."

This is, indeed, making a *personal* application with a vengeance! And our election must needs be very free, when not only he who votes shall be punished, but even the vassal who presumes to think contrary to his lord's will, though he be not a freeholder, shall be punished for his inclinations.

Surely the steward, when he wrote this letter, was not aware of that vote of the house of commons which says,

" Resolved,

Letter III. To Sir William Beauchamp Proctor.

45

Resolved,

"That it is a high infringement of the liberties and privileges of the commons of Great-Britain for any *Lord of parliament*, or any *Lord-lieutenant of any county*, to concern themselves in the elections of members to serve for the commons in parliament."

But your advocates perhaps will say, that though the *threatening* was yours, the *letter* was the steward's. To destroy this evasion, I will tell them that you did yourself write a letter of a similar nature to Mr. —, principal of the examiner's office, informing him that the under clerks of that office were against you, and directing him to make them vote for you.

However, I believe, Sir William, you may spare most of these threats for the future;—There is a spirit in the county that revolts at the idea of such vassalage; and I should think you might by this time plainly perceive it.—Recollect only what happened to a certain colonel in your company, who, on a tradesman's refusing his vote to you, ordered him to fend in his bill immediately. Surely, sir, (said the honest freeholder) you cannot be in earnest! The colonel protested he was. I am under very great obligations then (he replied) to Sir William Beauchamp Proctor; for you have dealt with me now these eight years, and this is the first time I ever heard you talk of sending in your bill.

A PLAIN COMMON FREEHOLDER.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders, of the County of Middlesex.

Gentlemen,

THE death of Mr. Cooke having made a vacancy for this county, at the desire of many friends I beg to offer my services to represent you in parliament. The public part I have taken in some very important questions, respecting the liberties and constitution of my country, has, I hope, met with your approbation. I can only promise you a continuance of the same zeal for the true interests of this nation, and of its excellent sovereign, together with the most steady attention to the business of this county, if I have the honour to represent you in parliament. I am, with deference and regard, Gentlemen,

Your most faithful and obedient humble servant,

Bloomsbury-Square,

J O H N G L Y N N.

Saturday, Aug. 27.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Middlesex,

Gentlemen,

I Did not presume to offer myself again as a candidate for the county until I knew it would be agreeable to a great number of its constituents; happy am I to find that I have so great encouragement. It is not a seat in parliament that I covet so much

as the honour of representing so respectable a county, which I have had the peculiar pleasure to do in three successive parliaments, in which I was ever assiduous of shewing my duty to the king, and preserving the rights and liberties of my fellow-subjects; this emboldens me again to solicit your votes and interest on the day of election, assuring you that I never had the least thought of petitioning against any former election, which has been unkindly reported; and if I have the honour to be chose your representative, shall endeavour to merit the favour by the uprightness of my actions, and by a constant attention to the trade and welfare of this county. I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obliged and faithful servant,

Boston-Street, July 19, 1768. W. BEAUCHAMP PROCTOR.

* * I shall pay my personal respects the first opportunity, and in my canvass if I should omit waiting on any freeholders, hope they will not attribute it to neglect, but to the want of a correct list.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Middlesex.

Gentlemen,

IT is time I should return you my warmest thanks for the generous encouragement you have given me, and the disinterested support I have met with in the course of a most successful canvass. I am bound to you by the strongest ties of gratitude; and I promise to exert myself to the utmost, in order to strengthen and to vindicate such of your rights as have been already invaded, and to oppose vigorously all such attempts for the future.

I am doubly bound to this, because your exertion in my behalf does not proceed from any family connections, from any personal acquaintance, or private favours, but from the great principles of legal liberty and constitutional freedom. With such support I entertain the greatest hope of success; nor shall any consideration make me lay aside those hopes, till the sheriffs shall have finally closed the poll at Brentford. Whatever may be the event of that day, whether I shall be so happy as to be chosen your representative, or not, I will endeavour through life not to disappoint your expectations; nor will ever desert the cause of the people. I will persevere steadfastly in my duty to my king and country, unshaken by power, uninfluenced by any offer of interests or honours.

I must intreat those gentlemen to whom I have not yet made a personal application, to excuse the delay: it is my intention, the earliest opportunity, to wait on every freeholder in the County. If I should omit any in the course of my canvass, I hope it will be imputed to the peculiar difficulty I find of getting complete lists.

Permit

Account of the Middlesex Election.

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Permit me to entreat the continuance of your favour, and your appearance for me at Brentford on the day of election.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient and faithful humble servant,
Bloombsury-Square, JOHN GLYN N.
Nov. 1, 1768.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Middlesex.

Gentlemen,

I Take the first opportunity of acquainting you, that the election of a member for this county is now fixed for Thursday the eighth of December, when I hope for the continuance of your friendships, and your appearance in my favour at Brentford. The pleasing prospect of success, which I have reason to form to myself from the very generous reception you have given me in the course of a long depending canvass, will, I flatter myself, be crowned on that day with the distinguished honour of being chosen a FOURTH TIME to serve THE FREEHOLDERS OF MIDDLESEX IN PARLIAMENT. To be entrusted by you was the height of my ambition twenty years ago, and it is now my pride, that in a long period of services, there has not intervened a moment when I did not feel the warmest gratitude and attachment to my constituents. I have been true to my sovereign, and to the CAUSE of the people. The spirit of LIBERTY, and not of PARTY, has guided all my actions: For conduct like this, I have now the approbation of my own heart, and if that approbation is echoed back by your voices at the ensuing poll, I shall esteem it the best reward an honest man can receive.

I am aware that there must be many who have not received a personal application from me, but let me assure them, that there was been NO DELAY on my part: it was at once my duty and my inclination to pay my respects to every individual, but the known difficulty of procuring a correct list, will, I hope plead my excuse. I beg leave once more to say, that it is not a seat in parliament I covet so much (however respectable in itself) as the honour of again representing the county of Middlesex. It is an honest ambition, and if I am so happy as to succeed, it shall be the endeavour of my life to justify your choice by the uprightness of my conduct, and to prove myself, Gentlemen,

A friend to civil Liberty,

And your most obliged and faithful humble servant,
Bruton-street, Nov. 24. W. BEAUCHAMP PROCTOR.

Stands for Coaches.

Ratcliffe cross. Whitechapel bars within. Bishopsgate-street, the end of Artillery-lane. Dog-house bar, Old-street. West Smithfield, at Long-lane end. St. Giles's Pound. Holborn bars without. The Royal Exchange. Temple bar. Charing cross. St. Margaret's hill, Borough. Sir William B. Proctor's, Bruton-street.
House

Houses at Old Brentford.] The star and garter, New bridge. The Castle. Salutation. The Barge. Running horses. Red Lion. Goat.

Houses at New Brentford.] White Horse in the market. Royal Oak, ditto. Seven Stars, near the Butts. Running Deer. Six Bells. Black Boys. Crown and Thistle. Katherine Wheel.

Sir William Beauchamp Proctor will be glad to have the honour of the company of his friends to Bruton-street the Election-morning.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Middlesex.

Gentlemen,

THOUGH, by the great length of time since Mr. Cooke's death to the issuing of the writ, sufficient opportunity has been given to my adversaries to avail themselves of every advantage to oppose my election; yet they do not seem to be contented with this delay. Measures have been attempted by some persons (who have no right to interfere at all in the choice of a representative of the people) in order to prolong and delay, as well as to embarrass and perplex the poll.

I trust, however, that as the poll for this county has always hitherto been finished in one day, it will likewise be so this time. It is entirely in the breast of the sheriffs to take such measures as may tend to conclude it, as usual in one day, with ease and convenience to the freeholders. As soon as I know the determination of the sheriffs in that respect, I will, without delay, inform you of it; and will at the same time lay before you all that has passed on this subject: for I hold myself equally accountable to you for my conduct whilst I am a candidate for your favour, as I shall think myself if chosen to represent you in parliament.

At present I can only inform you that the day of election is now, at last, fixed for Thursday the 8th of December, when carriages will be stationed for those gentlemen who shall please to honour me with their company, at the following places, viz. The Warren Galley, Ratcliffe-cross. King of Sweden, Wapping dock. King's arms, Burr-street, St. Catharine's. Green Man, Bethnal green. Grave Morris, Mile end. Black dog, ditto. Three Tuns, Spitalfields. Black Swan, ditto. Unicorn, Shore-ditch. Two Lions, Hoxton. White Horse, Whitecross-street. Mr. Ashley's, Clerkenwell green. Peacock, Minories. Ship tavern, Leadenhall-street. Crown and anchor, strand. Vine tavern, Holborn. Swan, Westminster Bridge. Hercules Pillars, Hyde park corner. White Horse, Hackney. Angel inn, Islington. Three Tuns tavern, St. Margaret's hill, Southwark.

Before I knew of any opposition, I took care to engage, for the accommodation of my friends, those houses which are nearest to the place of poll, which have the best stabling, and are most capable of entertaining company, viz.

In New Brentford.] The Pigeons. The Castle. The Red Lion. The George.

The

Account of the Middlesex Election.

49

The shortness of the days makes me more particularly request your early attendance, as it is probable the poll will begin at nine in the morning.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most faithful and obedient humble servant,

Bloomsbury-square, Nov. 28.

J O H N G L Y N N.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Middlesex.

Gentlemen,

I Think it my duty, according to my promise, to submit to your judgment my conduct on the present occasion.

Having received authentic intelligence of a very extraordinary nature, relative to some measures intended to be pursued at the ensuing election, by the interposition of those who, by the declaration of the house of commons, have no right to interfere in elections; I thought it due to myself, and to every Freeholder of this county, to endeavour, if possible, to prevent such proceedings, rather than to complain of them afterwards. For this purpose I wrote the following letter to Sir William Beauchamp Proctor, that I might discover whether my opponents still harboured the same intentions; or whether, through a failure in some applications they had made, they had already dropped those designs; or might not be prevailed upon to desist.

To Sir W. B. PROCTOR, Bart.

S I R,

The last time I saw Mr. Sheriff Shakespeare, he seemed to think it proper that we should have a meeting, in order to settle, by mutual agreement, some of those particulars concerning the election, which are in some measure liable to our determination. In conformity to his idea, I will venture to make some proposals to you, which I think may tend to the order, quiet, and regularity, of the approaching poll. You will please to communicate to me your opinion on this subject; that so we may jointly apply to the Sheriffs to settle the future plan of operations in a manner most likely to give universal satisfaction to the freeholders, the sheriffs, and the candidates.

I believe it would be proper to build the hustings at least one third larger than they were at the last election; and to increase the number of clerks from twenty-four to thirty-six; which will both facilitate the poll, and shorten its duration; circumstances much to be desired, as well on account of the shortness of the days at this time, as to prevent inconvenience to the voters, and disorder among the people. For the same reasons, it would be proper for us to request the sheriffs to begin the business of election at nine o'clock in the morning, as the act of parliament in this case authorizes and directs.

These points seem to me the most material to be settled. I shall be very desirous to agree with you in any measure which you may propose, relative to the manner of conducting the poll; and assure you, that nothing shall be wanting on my part to promote peace and good order, and convenience, to all persons concerned in the election.

I flatter myself, that these proposals will appear to you to be well calculated for the purposes I have mentioned; and that they will therefore meet with your concurrence. I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

JOHN GLYNN,

To JOHN GLYNN, Esq;

SIR,

I think it is becoming of us candidates, to do every thing that may tend to promote good order, and quiet, on the day of election, and I am very ready to concur with you in any measure that may conduce to the safety and ease of the voters, therefore think it would be right to have a meeting with the sheriffs, to talk with them on the subject, and if you approve of it, will send a card to them, in our joint names, to know when, and where we shall wait upon them. I am, Sir,

Nov. 21,

1768,

Your most obedient humble servant,

W. BEAUCHAMP PROCTOR,

To Sir W. B. PROCTOR, Bart.

SIR,

The meeting which you propose with the sheriffs, will, no doubt, be very proper, and shall be glad to attend you to them; but it would be right, before we meet, to settle the points in which we mean to request their concurrence; otherwise we may only come together to know that we differ in opinion.

In a matter of this nature it is impossible to be too plain. I will explain to you most frankly, Sir William, all that I mean by this application to you, and I do not doubt but that you will be as ingenuous on your side.

Reports have been raised, that some new and unprecedented methods of proceeding are intended to be pursued at the approaching poll at Brentford. My wish and only desire is to take the sense of the freeholders in the most usual, regular, and convenient manner, in which the election for the county of Middlesex has been always hitherto carried on. For that purpose I made the proposals to you in my letter of yesterday: and I should be much obliged to you for an answer to those particulars; because the general declarations of your letter determine nothing, and a meeting with the sheriffs, before we have agreed on the business of that meeting, would only serve to cause delay and loss of time.

My attendance at Westminster-hall as well as the hurry of my canvass, make it impossible for me to meet often, and therefore I could wish to settle things with you before we wait upon the sheriffs, that we may not then have to propose and to discuss any matter, but to determine finally.

There appears to me no sort of difficulty or nicety in the business; and you, Sir William, in particular, cannot find it difficult to determine, whether you chuse to have the election carried on as it has been for the last twenty years you have represented the county, or whether you have any alterations to propose or objections to make.

If there is any thing of that kind which you wish to offer, assure you I shall be very happy to shew you every sort of reasonable complaisance; and as far as the nature of this business will allow, to yield to your opinion.

I have only at present to desire your opinion on what I have proposed; when we have agreed on our proposals to the sheriffs, they will then give us their determination as they shall judge expedient. I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

JOHN GLYNN.

To JOHN GLYNN, Esq;

SIR,

I received your second letter this morning, wherein you acquaint me that reports have been raised that some new and unprecedented methods of proceeding are intended to be pursued at the approaching poll at Brentford. I know of no foundations for such reports, and am convinced that they are groundless. I do assure you I desire no alteration in the old mode of taking the poll; my only wish is, fairly to take the sense of the county, and that all the freeholders may with ease, and without interruption, give their votes. I proposed, in answer to your letter of the 21st instant, our waiting on the sheriffs, because what you mentioned are matters that they are to settle, as well as to fix the day of election. I have no objection to the poll beginning at nine o'clock: I am willing to come in to every measure which may facilitate the election. However, if you are still desirous that we should have a meeting before we go to the sheriffs, I shall be glad of the honour of seeing you at my house, and any friend with you, or will wait upon you at your's, and desire you to appoint a time. I am, Sir,

Nov. 23.

Your most obedient humble servant,

W. BEAUCHAMP PROCTOR.

Receiving at the same time with this last letter from Sir William, a notice from the under-sheriffs, of an appointment to meet Sir William, with the sheriffs, on Friday, at Waghorn's coffee-house; I deferred the business to that meeting.

We met on Friday, at the time and place appointed. There were present, Mr. sheriff Shakespeare; the two under-sheriffs, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Gregg; Mr. Benson; Sir William Beauchamp Proctor, Mr. Galliard, and an agent for Sir William; myself, and the Rev. Mr. Horne.

My proposals were there repeated. Mr. Shakespeare said it was impossible to finish in one day. It was answered, that it was strange the impossibility should arise in the year 1768, since it had never been impossible before.

Mr. Shakespeare observed, that the days were short, and that the infirm people could not get from the distant parts of the county to Brentford, till between three and four in the afternoon. Soon after Mr. Shakespeare declared it necessary that the books should be shut at three.

To this it was answered, that there were probably proportionable numbers of infirm on one side as on the other, and therefore that the inconvenience would be equal to each of the candidates. It was further urged, that if the books must be shut at three, and if the infirm could not get to Brentford till after that time, they must then, if they meant to poll at all, go over-night; and they might as well go on Wednesday as on Thursday.

All parties agreed to lay at Brentford on Wednesday, and to open the poll precisely at nine, on the Thursday morning.

Mr. Galliard, who appeared as Sir William's friend, insisted that Sir William should never agree to thirty-six clerks, and declared it an innovation, for that the number of clerks had ever been the same. Mr. Benson was called upon to determine this point, who told us, that when Sir Hugh Smithson, and Sir William Beauchamp Proffor stood against Sir Roger Newdigate, and Mr. Cooke, there were 28 clerks. When Mr. Cooke, stood against Mr. Honeywood, there were 32 clerks. When there was no declared opposition, the sheriffs had appointed six clerks, and that at the last election with three candidates, there were twenty-four clerks.

It appeared from this account that the number of clerks always varied in proportion to the business to be done, and the length of time for its performance; so that the poll had always been finally closed for Middlesex in one day.

The small number of voters in the county, made this easy to be done, and one good reason amongst others for the practice was, because the sheriffs of Middlesex, are likewise sheriffs of the city of London, and their presence is frequently necessary there, and this happens to be particularly the case at present, for reasons which Mr. Shakespeare himself gave, when he was speaking of the inconvenience of their attendance at this time.

It was next debated what oaths should be tendered indiscriminately to every freeholder, leaving it open, (as indeed it must be) to propose any particular oath to any particular person.

On my part it was proposed that as Sir William and Mr. Wilkes had last election agreed, so this time, the qualification oath, and the oath against bribery and corruption should be given to every voter.

At this Mr. Galliard was extremely offended, perhaps too much offended, if we may judge from the coarse treatment which Mr. Horne met with from him for this proposal. He insisted, that if the bribery oath was to be given, every oath which the acts of parliament have at different times, for different reasons, directed to be taken, should likewise be given to every voter; such as the oaths of allegiance, supremacy and abjuration.

It was answered, that this could only serve the purpose of delay, and that if Sir William persisted in that resolution, it would be necessary to propose a greater number of clerks in proportion to the employment designed for them.

Mr. Galliard was however immovable on that head, unless the bribery oath was by consent omitted. It became therefore the more necessary to insist on the oath against bribery and corrup-

tion

tion and the earnestness of Mr. Galliard to get rid of it, reasonably furnished me with a fresh reason for requiring it.

It was indeed said, that the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration, were necessary likewise on another score, because it had been discovered (what I believe few persons before suspected) that great numbers of Roman Catholics had been found for Mr. Wilkes in the poll-book.

I was repeatedly pressed to give up the bribery oath; as a condition of the other oaths being omitted: and if I would have consented to that, the objection to the roman catholic voters would have been forgot.

In this manner the conference ended, with Mr. Gregg's declaration, that since the candidates could not agree, Mr. Shakespeare would have counsel with him, and be guided by their opinion. At the same time Sir William and myself were desired to send to the sheriffs two hundred pounds each, as a deposit for the expences of the election: with which we both complied.

In consequence of the indecision of this meeting, I sent the following letters.

TO MR. SHERIFF HALLIFAX.

S I R,

"The election for the county of Middlesex, has always hitherto been concluded in one day, and I had no doubt but that it would have been so on the ensuing occasion. Some authentic intelligence, which I received of a different intention, and of some measures designed to be pursued, which had never before been attempted in this county, induced me to write to Sir William Beauchamp Proctor, to know his opinion on the subject, and to endeavour to settle, by mutual agreement, some plan for your consideration, that might facilitate and shorten the poll, which would necessarily prevent that inconvenience and hurry, which will always arise from the eagerness of the freeholders, to give their votes when they meet with delay and difficulty. My sole object was to finish the poll fairly and conveniently; and as usual in one day. Several letters passed between us; but I received no answer to my proposals; they were left to be settled at a meeting of the sheriffs this morning at Waghorn's coffee-house. At this meeting, where I am extremely sorry we had not the honour of your company, I repeated my proposals, that the poll might begin at nine in the morning; that there might be thirty-six clerks; and I added that the qualification and bribery oaths only should be administered indiscriminately to every person offering to poll. Sir William agreed to the first, but objected to the second and third; at last would consent to thirty clerks; but Mr. Galliard, Sir William's friend, insisted either that we should leave out the bribery oath, or else that all the oaths should be given indiscriminately to every voter; so that we have parted as we met, without coming to any sort of agreement; and the regulations of the poll, are left to you, Sir, and Mr. sheriff Shakespeare.

My wish still remains the same to finish the poll fairly in one day, as usual; and I shall be very well satisfied with any regulation that will answer that purpose.

I shall be much obliged to you, if you will please to favour me with

with your determination, and Mr. Shakespeare's, on these subjects, that I may provide accordingly.

*Bloomsbury Square,
Nov. 25, 1768.*

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient, humble servant,

JOHN GLYNN.

A very uncommon deposit of two hundred pounds each, was proposed by Mr. Gregg, to the candidates. It is the first time that such a thing has happened in this county; and the motive for it must surely be extraordinary; for it is not easy to conceive how the sheriff's expences for the Middlesex election, can amount to 400*l.* however, Sir, I send them inclosed to you, that they may lay in your bank as a security for the sheriffs, to answer all their demands.

To Mr. Sheriff SHAKESPEARE.

S I R,

"The regulations of the ensuing poll being left entirely to your determination, and to that of Mr. Hallifax, I shall be much obliged to you, if you will please to favour me with knowledge of what you intend, that I may accordingly concert my measures for the election.

Though Mr. Gregg talked of counsel, and though I am well informed of the measures which have been meditated by some person, who has no right to interfere at all, in our election for the commons, yet I persuade myself we shall not see the Cumberland business acted over again in Middlesex; nor will I believe that the method invariably pursued by all former sheriffs of this county, of concluding the poll in one day, will be departed from in the year 1768, by Mr. Shakespeare and Mr. Hallifax. You are already apprized of Mr. Galliard's intention of prolonging the poll, by giving all the oaths indiscriminately to every freeholder, and it is in your breast to determine, by the orders you may give for a sufficient number of clerks, in proportion to the business laid out for them by Mr. Galliard, whether the election shall or shall not finish, as usual, in one day.

"My proposals had no other object but that, and I shall be thoroughly satisfied with any regulation, that shall answer the purpose of a fair, convenient poll, concluded in one day.

*Bloomsbury Square,
Nov. 25, 1768.*

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,

JOHN GLYNN.

Mr. Gregg proposed a deposit of two hundred pounds; it is the first time this happened on a Middlesex election. I have sent them to Mr. Hallifax's bank, that they may be a security for the demands of the sheriffs.

To these letters I received a joint answer from Mr. Hallifax and Mr. Shakespeare.

To JOHN GLYNN, Esq;

S I R,

We take the liberty of acquainting you that we intend to proceed upon the election for the county of Middlesex, on Thursday the 8th instant, at nine of the clock in the forenoon; and for the better dispatch of the business of the day, and the accommodation

dation of the several freeholders, we shall provide thirty-two books for taking the poll. We observe you express a particular desire, that the election should finish in one day; we beg leave to assure you, we are equally solicitous to expedite the election as much as properly can, and shall be very glad to have it in our power to finish it in a day; but this so much depends on the conduct of the candidates, that it is impossible for us previously to determine on that point. We understand it is a matter proper to be settled between the candidates, and hope you and Sir William Beauchamp Proctor will concur in such measures as will best contribute to that end, and to the ease and convenience of the freeholders.

We are, with respect, Sir, your most obedient servants,
London, Dec. 1, 1768
THOMAS HALLIFAX,
JOHN SHAKESPEARE.

To the sheriffs of MIDDLESEX, Mr. HALLIFAX, and Mr. SHAKESPEARE.

GENTLEMEN.

"I am extremely happy that the object of my proposals, relative to the election, has the sanction of your approbation. Indeed it was difficult to suppose it would not; for I can have no other desire, than to take the sense of the freeholders in the fairest and easiest manner, being sure to meet with no other support but theirs.

"I am very sensible that you cannot previously determine when the poll shall finally close; but it is in your power to take such measures as shall tend to facilitate and expedite it, so that it may be conveniently concluded, as usual, in one day.

"The number of clerks; the time of beginning the election; and the manner of giving the oaths; are three things that you can determine; and on which jointly the length or shortness of the poll will depend.

"I am very well satisfied with your determination to begin at nine, with thirty two clerks. In these two particulars you follow the example of a worthy magistrate, Mr. Janssen, who likewise (at the contested election between Mr. Cook and Mr. Honeywood) directed the oaths to be given to four voters together. I hope, gentlemen, that you, guided by the same motives, will adopt the same measure, because by that means the poll will be both sooner ended, and more easily carried on: the throng will be less, as the succession will be quicker.

"The intention of protraction on the side of Sir W. B. Proctor, were too plainly declared at our meeting to leave me in doubt about them; but for these you are in no manner accountable. However, since we know them, it becomes both your duty and mine to prevent as far as we can, or to obviate any unnecessary and studied delay.

"Something was said at our meeting by Mr. Gregg the under sheriff, as if it was the intention of Mr. Shakespeare to have counsel to attend the poll. I beg leave to remind you, that our constitution knows of no such officer at an election. It has appointed sheriffs only, and supposed them both capable and fit, and proper to decide on these occasions. Had counsel been intended, they would

would have been appointed. The practice of having them is novel, and is never adopted but when the sheriff means to introduce chicane. To attend elections is no part of the office of a counsellor; and he who undertakes to give counsel to the returning officer, and not as advocate for the candidate, always prostitutes his profession to the purpose of screening the officer who is by law appointed the judge of elections; for it is well known that the person so employed is not so much the counsel of the sheriff, as the agent of the party he means to favour.

“ Mr. Shakespeare has more than once declared his intention of having counsel, and has given his reason for it—that it would be very hard for Sir W. B. Proctor who does not know the law, to stand unaffected against an adversary who is a lawyer.

“ Is not this taking a part? And does not this declaration confirm what I have before advanced, that the person so called in would not be the counsel of the sheriffs, but the agent of the favoured candidate?

But I flatter myself, Mr. Shakespeare will well weigh the consequence of every step that he may take out of the common way in so public and important a matter. I do not mention this to throw any blame on Mr. Shakespeare; but to prevent its being thrown by others. I hope, and firmly rely upon it, that mine will be the more pleasing task of applauding the conduct of gentlemen whose characters stand hitherto so fair.

“ In the contested election between Mr. Honeywood and Mr. Cooke, Mr. Janssen the sheriff was particularly careful to prevent mobs and riots. I have great reason, gentlemen, to mention this to you now, to propose his example to you, and to desire you to take such precautions as you may think proper on the present occasion.

“ I should be glad, gentlemen, to be favoured with your opinion on the three subjects of this letter, and how far you may think it advisable:

To give the oaths to four voters together;

To avoid the interference of counsel;

And to take measures to avoid mobs and riots.

I have the honour to be, gentlemen,

Bloomsbury Square,

Your most obedient humble servant,

Dec. 1, 1768.

JOHN GLYNN.”

To JOHN GLYNN, Esq;

SIR,

Stepney Causeway, Dec. 3, 1768.

“ The letter addressed to Mr. Hallifax and myself, (dated yesterday) I have perused, but have not yet had time to consult him upon it. In my opinion, such part of the letter as could require an answer, has been already answered by the letter we jointly wrote to you the 1st instant, and the other part contains so much scurrility against me, that I think it beneath a gentleman to take notice of, or give any answer to.

I am, Sir, your humble servant.

JOHN SHAKESPEARE.”

To JOHN GLYNN, Esq;

“ Sir William Beauchamp Proctor presents his compliments to Mr. Serjeant Glynn, sends him the inclosed advertisement, which

he

he hopes will meet with his concurrence; if it does, the Serjeant will please to sign it; and Sir William will take care to have it inserted in the public papers; and begs the favour of an answer by the bearer.

Bruton Street, Dec. 8, 1768.

Proposed **ADVERTISEMENT.**

"That the ensuing election may be carried on with the utmost peace and safety, all tumults and disorders prevented; and the electors may go to Brentford and give their votes with ease, it has been agreed between us, and we do most earnestly request all our respective friends to use the utmost endeavours to prevent all riots and disturbances, either on the road to, or at Brentford, or the place of poll.

To Sir W. BEAUCHAMP PROCTOR.

"Mr. Serjeant Glynn presents his compliments to Sir William Beauchamp Proctor, and very heartily concurs with him in desiring to promote peace and good order, at the ensuing election. But Mr. Glynn cannot see the propriety of inserting a joint advertisement at this time, when it is currently reported, and generally believed by the public, that a very numerous mob has been already hired in Sir William Beauchamp Proctor's name, therefore begs leave to decline signing the advertisement sent him by Sir William, but intends inserting one to the like purport.

Bloomsbury Square, Dec. 3. 1768.

It is not necessary at present to give a written answer to Mr. Shakespeare: that gentleman has solicited votes for Sir William: and the day before our conference at Waghorn's coffee-house, at a time when he ought to be supposed ignorant of Sir William's wishes, talked of a three days poll to one of my friends.

The reason of my refusal to join my name to the proposed advertisement of Sir William is obvious. It means nothing; and says nothing. It is easy to desire one thing of our friends in the papers, and to direct another thing to particulars in private. Therefore I chuse here to declare, upon my honour, that I have never by myself or others, engaged, or caused to be engaged, any mob at all, not a single man for the election at Brentford; nor will I be accessory to, or conscious of any such proceeding: and I do firmly believe, that no person has taken any such step in my behalf, and entreat all my friends to abstain from every thing of that sort.

I beg leave to request once more the early attendance of my friends at Brentford on Thursday next; and am, gentlemen, with great gratitude,

Your most obedient and faithful humble servant,

JOHN GLYNN.

By some strange chance very many of my friends have been summoned for juries on the day of election. I may venture to assure them, that their attendance on the election of a member for the county, of which they are freeholders, is the first great duty they owe their country, and is certainly an exemption from all other attendance.

On Thursday the 8th of December, 1768, the day appointed for the Middlesex election, the candidates appeared on the hustings at half an hour after eight; and the sheriffs came at ten minutes after nine. Notwithstanding this, the opening of the Poll was delayed till near eleven.

One of the narrow avenues leading to Brentford Butts was occupied very early by a hired mob, with bludgeons, bearing favours in their hats, inscribed, "Proctor and liberty."—A much larger, but very compact body, armed as the former, and with the same distinctions, were planted near the hustings on an eminence, and in a disposition which was evidently the arrangement of an experienced serjeant. The rest of these banditti were stationed in different quarters of the town, to strike a general terror into the honest part of the freeholders: there was besides a corps de reserve which was to fall forth on a signal given.

When these dispositions were secured, a chosen party of Butchers, in the same interest, traversed the town, and insulted the hustings with marrow bones and cleavers.

When Sir William Beauchamp Proctor's numbers were nearly exhausted, and the course of the poll declared decisively for Mr. Serjeant Glynn (who had still great multitudes unpollled) **THE SIGNAL WAS GIVEN.** An instantaneous and furious, but regular attack was made on the hustings. The sheriffs, the candidates, the clerks, the poll-books, all vanished in a moment. The whole town was presently a scene of blood. It was not enough to knock down an unhappy man: the blow was followed till he was utterly disabled. Those who have been exposed to riots declare they never saw such cruelty. All doors and windows were barricadoed. There was no shelter. Nothing was safe. Nor can any thing equal the universal consternation of the frightened people, but the abhorrence and execration with which every tongue repeated the name of P—

It appears from every account of the proceedings at Brentford, that the people who began the riot there, were the friends of the court candidate; and in particular it is affirmed, that when the Irish chairmen, and the professed bruisers at their head, had proceeded so far in their cruel and villainous intention of murdering and wounding the people, that the gentlemen upon the hustings were in danger of their lives; one gentleman went up to the court candidate, and expostulated with him on the base conduct of *his mob*. *My mob!* said the courtier; Yes, Sir, said the gentleman, *your mob!* and added, Sir, I insist upon your speaking to those fellows who are knocking down the people there. But the courtier refused to say any thing to appease their fury; upon which the gentleman who had spoke to him, finding himself in danger of life, seized him by the great coat, and shewed his star to the armed ruffians, who instantly took off their hats and huzza'd him. While the ruffians were thus huzzaying, the gentleman escaped.

Next day was wrote, in capitals, on most of the walls at Brentford, *No P—, No murderer.*

When the above villains had cleared the hustings, they went into the town of Brentford, and attacked the Castle-Inn, (which was one of Mr. Glynn's houses) and made considerable havock in it. The inhabitants of the town observing this mischief, and beginning to fear their own houses would next be destroyed, a general indignation arose amongst them. They sallied out, and attacked the villains with great spirit, and drove them out of the town. Resentment then taking place in the breasts of some of them, they vented the remainder of their rage upon one or two of the houses opened for the court candidate.

In consequence of the above interruption of the poll, the sheriffs applied to the house of commons that very evening, and declared several of the poll books were missing; upon which the house ordered that the poll should be adjourned to Monday December 12; and in the mean time directed the sheriffs to make diligent search after the poll books, and to report the same to the house, who would sit on Saturday the 10th for that purpose. The sheriffs found all the books, and acquainted the house of it; who finding that the sheriffs had not examined them, directed the books to be carefully inspected in the presence of the candidates, and if the candidates and they were satisfied, no erasures &c. had been made in them, then to go on with the poll on Wednesday the 14th.

On Monday the 12th, the state of the poll books was accordingly examined at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand, when it appeared there was a majority of 147 for Mr. Serjeant Glynn. There was a difference of seven votes between the sheriffs and cheque books, which the serjeant generously gave up. We now return to the candidates, in consequence of the riot.

To the GENTLEMEN, CLERGY, and FREEHOLDERS of the County of MIDDLESEX.

GENTLEMEN,

THE warm professions of gratitude so frequently made by those who feel no gratitude for their constituents, because the means by which they succeed take off all obligation, make me at a loss for terms to express myself on so signal, so generous, and so glorious a support as I have met with from you.

Every means employed, and every influence exerted during a six months canvass, have not been able to divert a great majority of you from espousing the cause of a candidate, whom you supposed a friend to the CAUSE OF THE PEOPLE, and in whom you hoped to find a zealous and disinterested defender of the rights and liberties of his country.

Honour or infamy will deservedly attend me, in the same measure as my future conduct shall answer or disappoint your expectations. I do not owe your support to any personal friendship or connections, and am therefore free, even from the temptation of leaning to them: my obligations are to the public, and to the public I will return them.

For my conduct in the course of this election, I can appeal even to my adversaries; and the truth of my declaration to you has been most convincingly proved, by the infamous behaviour of my opponents, in the lawless interruption of the poll, when a mob of hired ruffians were, at a signal, let loose upon the peaceable, unarmed and inoffensive freeholders of the county of Middlesex, in order to destroy those whom they could not corrupt, and to wrest from them by violence, that freedom of election, which every undue and unconstitutional interposition had failed to overthrow.

The sheriffs, and every person present, were witnesses of a scene never before exhibited at an election. A desperate set of armed ruffians, with *Liberty and Proctor* in their hats, without the least opposition, without the least provocation, or cause of quarrel, destroyed those who did not lift up a hand in their defence. Sir William, to whom I called to go with me and face this mob, made no answer, and left me: I remained the last man upon the hustings.

However, I live, gentlemen, to assert not so much *my* election, as *your* rights; and I pledge myself to you, that your blood so wantonly shed yesterday, shall be vindicated, and the charge brought home both to the hired and the hirers. The more exalted their stations, and the more privileged their persons, the louder is the call for justice, and the more necessary its execution. Whether as your representative, or as a private gentleman, I pledge myself to you to go through with this business, or to perish in the attempt.

The freedom of a county election is the last sacred privilege we have left; and it does not become any honest Englishman to wish to survive it. For my own part, I will not. And if by this declaration I may seem to depart from that moderation which has always particularly marked my character, it is because I think tameness in a cause like this, is infamy. There is virtue still left in this country; we are come to a crisis, and the consequence of this struggle will determine whether we shall be slaves or free.

It is at present depending before the house of commons, what measures shall be next pursued in regard to this election. When they have decided, I will give you the earliest notice possible; and I promise you that no discouragement shall ever make me desert you, who have shewn that you will not desert yourselves.

Bloombury Square,

I am Gentlemen,

Dec. 9, 1768.

Your most grateful and

Faithful humble servant,

JOHN GLYNN.

To the Gentlemen and Freeholders of the County of Middlesex, Gentlemen,

AS I have endeavoured in a course of twenty years, to obtain your esteem by fair and honourable means, and as in that whole time, as well as on the present occasion, you have laid the most lasting obligations on me, I wish I could now find words adequate to the sentiments I feel towards the FREE and INDEPENDENT ELECTORS of the COUNTY of MIDDLESEX,

Calumniated as I have been during a long depending canvass I was in hopes that every topic of defamation had been exhausted and I never expected that the daring and tumultuous interruption of last Thursday's poll, would have been ascribed to me in so illiberal and inflammatory a stile as my antagonist has thought proper to use. For his conduct in the course of this business the Serjeant appeals to me; and I appeal to the sense of mankind, whether a BAND OF WRITERS has not been let loose to be the ASSASSINS of MY REPUTATION? Whether the Serjeant has not, in a manner unworthy of a GENTLEMAN and a LAWYER, exerted every effort to set up USAGE in opposition to the LAW of the LAND, and endeavoured in a DICTATORIAL MANNER, to compel the sheriffs to close the poll in one day, to the prejudice of the electors, and in violation of the authority vested in the returning officers, by the wisdom of the legislature?

My hopes, gentlemen, were grafted upon your voices, and the FULL SENSE of the county. I have ever so conducted myself in life, that I might reasonably think the character which the whole tenor of my actions has established, would be sufficient to repel a charge of outrage and inhumanity. But I will not content myself with that refutation. I here declare in form, that not a single man, nor any set of men, ever received from me, nor ever will re-

rive directly or indirectly, the wages of iniquity. I affirm upon my honour, that I never was conscious of a design to disturb the public peace. My agents had positive instructions to observe the utmost regularity, and to take care that the persons they might employ to assist my friends and me at the poll (according to the usage of all contested popular elections) should consider themselves as assistants to the civil magistrate; I had no reason to be alarmed at my opponent's numbers on the poll books; it was my interest that the election should be conducted quietly, and I leave it to every thinking man to judge, whether a candidate, who knew he was not first upon the poll, and had actually five hundred voters then ready, should desire abruptly and riotously to close the business, before the majority had been turned in his favour? I once more say, I never in my life hired a man for evil purposes, and my heart could never consent to a measure of violence and barbarity.

If a signal was given; if Proctor and liberty appeared in the hats of ruffians, how that might be contrived by the election-arts of my adversaries, need not now be mentioned. If my antagonist was willing to face the mob, he had more confidence in a desperate babbitt than I could have. To escape from their fury was all that I could propose to myself, and I aver that I was not only struck, but that I was in the utmost peril of my life. I have, however, survived the dangers of that day as well as the Serjeant, and I promise that it shall be to as good purposes as that gentleman can assume. It shall be to bring this dark transaction into open day-light, and to shew the world who has been the man of blood.

The means of doing this are now in a great measure in my power, and the whole of the evidence shall be reserved, not for incendiary libels, but for the courts of law.

The house of commons has interposed to preserve the freedom of the election. It was the opinion of my counsel; when a riot was artfully talked of by my opponents, above an hour before it happened, that the sheriffs in that case should resort immediately to the protection of parliament. That measure has been pursued, the house has approved of it; and now in full confidence that lawless men will not dare again to invade the rights of the freeholders, I presume once more to solicit your appearance in my favour on Wednesday next.

I shall ever remain with the most unfeigned esteem and gratitude,

Gentlemen, your most obliged and most faithful servant,

Bruton-Street, Dec. 10, 1768.

W. BEAUCHAMP PROCTOR.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Middlesex

Gentlemen,

As the election stands adjourned to Monday next, by order of the house of commons to the sheriffs, I beg leave to return my heartiest thanks to those of my friends, who have already polled, and request the attendance and votes of the rest of the freeholders in my behalf

As the unhappy disturbance, which interrupted the poll on Thursday last, was contrary to my interest and express wishes, so I beg leave to assure the county, that all possible means shall be used on my part to preserve peace and good order.

As the sheriffs are now acting under the direction of the house of commons, I trust nobody will be hardy enough for the future to violate the freedom of the election, and the right of the freeholder.

I have the honour to be, gentlemen,

Your most obliged and faithful humble servant,

Bruton Street, Dec. 10,

W. BEAUCHAMP PROCTOR.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Middlesex.

Gentlemen,

THE dangerous tumults and disorders which attended the last election, having raised a general alarm in the minds of the freeholders; I found it to be the earnest wish of many of my friends, and therefore I thought it necessary for me to take every lawful measure to secure them from insult; but I do solemnly and publicly aver, that no persons were engaged by me, or on my behalf, to commit any riot or disorder whatever; on the contrary, the strongest injunctions were repeatedly given on my part, to avoid making any disturbance, to observe the most perfect good order, and assist the peace officers, if called upon.

I am every moment receiving informations upon oath, which confirm the suspicion I first entertained, that the interruption of the poll at Brentford, was a scheme artfully calculated by my enemies, to serve their purposes, and their imputation of it to me, is wickedly designed to prejudice me in the good opinion of the freeholders of this county, whose kind attachment to me, will, I hope, be as little shaken by this base artifice, as it has been by the many illiberal and false charges which were thrown against me during

or breach of the peace, which it always has been, and still is, my interest, my wish, and earnest endeavour to preserve; and in which I heartily desire the concurrence of all my friends.

I am, gentlemen, your faithful and obedient humble servant,
Bruton-Street, Dec. 12, 1768. W. BEAUCHAMP PROCTOR.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Middlesex.

Gentlemen,

Bloomsbury Square, Dec. 10, 1768.

I AM extremely concerned that my friends should, in consequence of the violence at Brentford, be unavoidably subjected to such continued uncertainty. The poll which stood adjourned till Monday, is this day, by order of the house of commons, further adjourned till Wednesday next. I am persuaded, from your zeal and kindness, that you will not fail to be prepared. If a further alteration should arise, you shall receive timely notice. I am, gentlemen, with the greatest respect and gratitude, your most obliged and most faithful servant,

JOHN GLYNN.

WHEREAS my adversary has publicly confessed, that he, or his agents, did hire certain persons, under pretence of assisting him and his friends at the poll, according (as he saith) to the usage of all contested popular elections, who were (according to his declaration) to be assitant to the civil magistrate: In answer to an attempt to charge me with the tumults committed on Thursday last, I submit to the public the following affidavit; from whence it may be judged, whether the guilt of that day ought to be imputed to the person who confesses he did, or the person who voluntarily swears he did not hire persons to be present at the election, who had no legal call to be there.

JOHN GLYNN.

JOHN GLYNN, of Bloomsbury Square, in the county of Middlesex, Esq; maketh oath that he did not, nor to his knowledge or belief did any agent, friend, servant, or any other person whatsoever, hire or employ any person or persons, except the coachmen who drove the carriages, or persons necessary to attend the horses, under any pretence whatsoever, to be at Brentford, or any other place on the day of election; nor did this deponent pay, or undertake to pay, by himself, agent, friend, servant, or any other person whatsoever, any person or persons but the clerks employed in taking the poll: and this deponent further saith, that he will not, under any pretence whatsoever, hire, employ, or suffer to the best of his power, any person or persons to be hired or employed, or to be present at the election tomorrow, or any future day, except the persons so hired and employed as aforesaid; and to the best of this deponent's belief, no person whatsoever in his interest will hire or employ any other persons to be present at the election; and this deponent verily believes the persons who commenced the outrage at the poll were the persons hired by Sir William Beauchamp Proctor, or his agents; but this deponent verily believes that the persons who assaulted Sir William Beauchamp Proctor, and the house to which he retreated, were not the same persons who commenced the outrage, but other persons who had been assaulted by them; and this deponent did not know of the assault on Sir William, or the house till after it was committed.

JOHN GLYNN.

Sworn 13, Dec. 1768, before me JOHN COX.

Copy of a letter sent to a particular friend of Sir W. B. Proctor, immediately after the riot at Brentford.

SIR R,

You will herewith receive a parcel of letters for the freeholders in your parish, which we beg may be sent to them as soon as possible, assuring them at the same time, that Sir W. B. Proctor knew nothing of the riot. Probability and facts contradict that; however, the minds of the people are to be pacified, and you will use your best endeavour for that purpose. &c.

Brentford Butts,

Dec. 9, 1768.

Four Affidavits have been inserted in the public Papers of which the following is the Purport.

A Tinkin Bush, of Gloucester-street, in the parish of St. George the Martyr, gentleman, made oath that he was at Brentford on the day of election, and seeing a large body of men, chiefly Irish, (as he verily believes) drawn up on an eminence near the hustings, with labels on their hats, whereon was printed Proctor and liberty; mixed with some of them, who immediately asked him what he intended to vote for? he then replied, he was neuter; and asked them, as they had Proctor and liberty in their hats, whether they were all voters for Proctor? Upon which they declared they had no votes, but they had in their hands what was as good, and then shewed him their bludgeons. He then asked them, who they supposed would get the election? They replied PROCTOR; for if Glynn gets the advantage, they swore, by God, "We will have his blood!"

RICHARD DIGNAM of Parker's-lane, coach-carver, made oath, that he saw Welsh, Hinton, Brady, and Quin, link lighters, the morning after the meeting of Sir William Beauchamp Proctor, that he overheard them disputing about dividing some money, which they said they had received from

Signed

JANES.

THO. FREDERICK."

William Wheeler, and James Boyce, made oath, that they, with about forty others, were engaged by Broughton for the same purpose, on the promise of a Guinea a day each. Jenkins Davies depoted to the same effect.

To Sir WILLIAM BEAUCHAMP PROCTOR.

SIR,

WERE I to adopt the coarsest language which is used by honest indignation to the most profligate and abandoned characters, I think I should be justified; when it is considered that I have still, as it were, before my eyes, the shocking scene of bloody cruelty of which I was not an unconcerned spectator last Thursday, from the hustings at Brentford.

In answer to positive charges, you have all along returned us nothing but general assertions and evasive declarations, on your honour. You say, "I have ever so conducted myself in life, that I might reasonably think the character which the whole TENOR of my actions has established, would be sufficient to repel a charge of outrage and inhumanity." One word in this sentence makes me recollect that I did once before in my life hear another person declaim, that "the colour and conduct of his life had furnished him with a suit of armour to repel such arrows." And I remember too, how universal was the contempt with which such an appeal was received. Your confidence in a conduct of twenty years is strangely altered now from what it was when you published your first advertisement; for then you "did not presume to offer yourself a candidate till you knew it would be agreeable to a great number of Freeholders."

But you go on: "I will not content myself with that refutation; I here declare in form, that not a single man, nor any set of men, ever received from me, nor ever will receive, directly or indirectly"—what?—"the wages of iniquity."

What a declaration in form! Sir William, it is the universal voice of your country, that you have here subscribed your own guilt. But if you have not, I, who have yet a character to lose, and have never yet signed my name to a lie, I here declare in form, Sir William Beauchamp Proctor did both hire, and cause to be hired, that mob which committed the outrages at Brentford; that mob, which, immediately after the total interruption of the poll, demanded which was the house that belonged to the Parson of Brentford; and to whose fury a neighbouring Clergyman (who heard them ask for my house) was apprehensive of falling a sacrifice by the mistake of a person who called him by my name. Boast of your humanity, Sir William, to Captain Read; that gentleman, to save his own life, declared himself your friend. Your ruffians believing what he said, because he stood by your side, shook hands with him; when you humanely replied, that he was not for you, nor your friend, but against you.

Persuade Mr. Allen, that they were not your mob, that gentleman brought you to the side of the hustings where they were, and heard them answer to his question, and to your face, that you Sir William Beauchamp Proctor were the person that gave them orders for what they were about. Mr. Allen, whom they thought your friend, jumped from the hustings, and told one of them, that too much mischief and murder had been committed; he pretended a desire to get the fellow out of any scrape, and directed him to meet him the same evening, at ten, at the Shakespeare, in Covent-garden. He met him accordingly to his promise, with one of his comrades, where they both disclosed what you Sir William, may possibly hear at the Old Bailey, where charge you. And as two o'clock on the Friday morning, Mr. Allen, some other gentlemen, and myself, applied to the constable of the night, and conducted the *infant* and his comrade to Covent-garden round-house. He is called the *infant* I suppose, because he is above six feet high. Their names are Edward Macquerque, and Lawrence Balf.

Did you Sir William, after the fatigue of that terrible day, did you likewise forego your rest, employ your time, or risk your safety, to bring this "*dark transaction to light*?" What steps have you taken for that purpose? Your friends have taken many to smother an inquiry. In Saturday's Gazette I saw a proclamation, with a promise of his Majesty's most gracious pardon, to discover the accomplices of those who committed the most heinous offence of cutting 45 on the door of Mr. Justice Capel. Have you, Sir William, made use of your interest with his Majesty's secretaries of state, to procure a like proclamation against the murderous rioters at Brentford? No man believes you will apply for it, and the friends of Mr. Serjeant Glynn have not waited till it comes out; but have endeavoured with success, and are still endeavouring to put it in the power of the Serjeant to fulfil his promise, and to bring the charge home to the Hired and the HIREES.

But you endeavour to justify what you have done; and hint that it was a fair return, because the Serjeant, you say, had let loose on you a band of writers, to be the assassins of your reputation. I will tell you what you know already; I wrote most of the letters that appeared against you in the papers. In them I have asserted nothing but public facts, which I am ready to be answerable for, which I can prove, and which you cannot dispute. And I tell you this now, notwithstanding we are to have another day's election, which you may, perhaps, intend to make another day's carnage.

You falsely accuse the Serjeant of having "exerted every effort to set up usages in opposition to the law of the land." Mr. Glynn never desired any thing from the Sheriffs, but that they would take such measures as might tend to finish the poll, as usual, in one day. He gave some of his reasons why he wished it to be so, and he proposed such measures as he thought would effect it; but he submitted them entirely to the Sheriffs. The measures he proposed were such as had been always taken; such as are not in opposition to any one law of the land; and to which I call you or your agents to make any solid objection.

If I could efface the melancholy impressions of last Thursday, I should with other unselling length at the absurdity of what follows, where you endeavour to justify your proceedings, by the USAGES of all contested popular elections," and where you affect to consider those

fashioned Confables, as Sir John Fielding terms them, I mean your hired ruffians, the Irish chairmen, as "assistants to the Civil Magistrates." The business of the approaching poll prevents my saying half what I have to tell you; but I promise you, you shall hear from me again and again, if you will please to issue out your orders to your ruffians to grant me a reprieve till after the election.

JOHN HORNE,

A Plain Common Freeholder.

To the Electors of MIDDLESEX, in the interest of Sir WILLIAM BEAUCHAMP PROCTOR.

SIR William Beauchamp Proctor begs leave to acquaint his friends who have not yet polled, that the poll at Brentford comes on this morning, at nine of the clock; when he hopes for the honour of their appearance in his favour, which he will ever esteem as the highest obligation.

December 14, 1768.

M^R. Serjeant GLYNN earnestly intreats all his friends, who may be at Brentford to-morrow, to restrain their indignation, and carefully to refrain from any act of outrage or insult, as nothing can be so contrary to M^R. GLYNN's wishes or so likely to defeat his success, as the breach of order or decency by any of his friends.

Bloomfury-square. Dec. 13, 1768.

On Wednesday morning Dec. 14, the poll recommenced at Brentford, and continued till about three o'clock in the afternoon; which was as remarkable for peace, decency, order, and regularity, as it was for riot, disorder, and confusion, the first day. The sheriffs having made proclamation round the hustings in the usual form for the freeholders to come and poll, or the books would be closed; and having waited half an hour, and none coming, they adjourned to an adjacent house to cast up the numbers. In about an hour they returned, and proclaimed the numbers to be

For Mr. Serjeant Glynn	---	1542
For Sir W. B. Proctor	---	1278

Majority for Mr. Glynn	264
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whereupon Mr. Glynn was by the sheriffs declared duly elected.

All the Serjeant's friends were particularly solicitous in preserving peace and quietness. And at Hyde-park-corner, where the riot was at the time of Mr. Wilkes's election, we hear every thing was now perfectly peaceable; many thousands of hand-bills were distributed, requesting the public to restrain their indignation upon the affair of the former day.

When the poll ended, Sir William thought proper to retire; he was conducted from the hustings, and quietly through the people, to his own carriage, by Mr. Allen, whom before he had so cruelly abandoned to the fury of his mob, and several of Mr. Glynn's other friends; to whose civility he politely returned thanks.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of MIDDLESEX,

Gentlemen,

THE success with which your public virtue, and perseverance have been crowned, gives me satisfaction equal to the honour it reflects on you. My thanks will best be expressed by my future conduct, which alone can determine whether I am, or am not, worthy of that generous support I have met with from you. You have triumphed over every interest, over every discouragement, and have shewn yourselves in the discharge of your duty to your country, equally unbiassed by hope or by fear. May you meet with the only reward you look for,---the confirmation of all your rights, the enjoyment of all your liberties.

As my private advantage and honour were by no means the motives of your exertion in my behalf; so neither shall they be the objects of my actions.---I consider the choice you have made of me for your representative as the most authentic declaration of your abhorrence of those arbitrary and oppressive measures, which have too long disgraced the administration of these kingdoms and which, if pursued, cannot fail to destroy our most excellent constitution.

I hope that your example will lead other counties also to assert their independence; and that the sacred flame of liberty, which always ascends, will reach at length the higher orders of this nation, and warm them likewise to a disdain of offering or accepting the wages of corruption.

Again and again, gentlemen, I congratulate and thank you; and shall esteem those the happiest moments of my life, in which I shall be employed in paying off that great debt of gratitude which by your kindness I have contracted.

You shall always find me, gentlemen,

Your most grateful and faithful

Humble Servant,

JOHN GLYNN

Bloomfury-square,
Dec. 14, 1768.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of MIDDLESEX.

Gentlemen,

THE professions of esteem and gratitude so repeatedly made by me in the course of the late canvass, were not the meer fashionable stile of election language, they sprung from sentiment, and were the real dictates of my heart, which will ever remain unalterable; permit me, therefore, to offer my most sincere acknowledgements for the generous support I received from so considerable a number of gentlemen of the highest character and fortune, and other freeholders of the county; and although it has not been attended with the desired success, you will give me leave to return you, in this public manner, my best and most grateful thanks for that additional mark of your friendship and attachment, and to assure you that I shall ever remain, Gentlemen,

Your most devoted, obliged, and obedient humble servant,

W. BEAUCHAMP PROCTOR

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Cæsar's repudiating his Wife



*Modernised.
Designed & Engraved for the Political Register*

T H E

POLITICAL REGISTER,

For F E B R U A R Y, 1769.

N U M B E R XXIII.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

The author of "Instructions to Representatives in general for 1768," as published in the Political Register for August, 1768, desires, that the following instructions to the members for Norwich, which are principally taken from the above, and which were drawn up by the same hand, may be likewise inserted in the Political Register.

A Letter to John Day, Esq; mayor of Norwich, containing, a letter of instructions to Harbord Harbord, Esq; and to Edward Bacon, Esq; representatives in parliament for the city and county of Norwich, dated October 25, 1768, being the * day of his Majesty's happy accession to the crown of these realms.

To John Day, Esq; Mayor of Norwich.

S I R,

WE, a considerable part of the free and independent citizens and electors of the city and county of Norwich, being this day assembled, at different houses, to celebrate his Majesty's happy accession to the crown of these

* These instructions were delivered to the Mayor, at his public dinner, on the anniversary of the accession of his present Majesty, October 25, 1768.

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realms,

realms, do unanimously request of you, our chief magistrate, to transmit to Harbord Harbord, Esq; and Edward Bacon, Esq; our representatives, the following letter of instructions for the direction of their future conduct in the grand council of the nation, and in particular at the opening of the ensuing sessions of parliament; a point of time we look upon to be very critical to the constitution of this country and kingdom, and to the liberties of the people. We are, Sir, with great respect, your most obedient servants;

Norwich;

Oct. 25, 1768.

The free and independent citizens and electors of the city and county of Norwich.

To Harbord Harbord and Edward Bacon, Esqrs.

GENTLEMEN,

AS it is the undoubted right of all constituents to instruct their representatives in parliament, from time to time, as they shall see occasion, We, a considerable part of your electors, as yet your free and independent electors, take this opportunity to claim and to exercise that right, and to transmit to you our sentiments upon some points, which we look upon to be of the utmost importance, at this juncture, to the whole kingdom.

We have observed, with concern, the instability of administration, and the distractions which have prevailed in all our public councils for these seven years past, and still prevail, to the disgrace as well as detriment of the nation: Such a perpetual fluctuation in public affairs, must inevitably end in the ruin of the state; and therefore it is high time that new, permanent, and vigorous measures should be adopted and entered into, for its preservation, ere it be too late: various are the grievances which call aloud for redress, and some of them we mean to point out to you; and as we have beheld but too many flagrant instances of the venality of the age, and of the corruption of representatives in parliament, by wicked, arbitrary, and oppressive ministers, Therefore, in order to strike at the root of corruption at once, and to revive the drooping spirit of public virtue and love of our country; in order to extinguish the false hopes; and to curb the undue, unconstitutional influence of all aspiring and ambitious favourites, We most earnestly recommend to you, and do most strictly enjoin you,

I. To use your utmost endeavours to promote the passing of a new and more comprehensive Place-Bill, by which all Placemen, beyond a limited number, may be rendered incapable to sit in the house of commons, for which the necessity

is but too evident, from the daily increase of places and pensions, and the neglect of bringing in of which as soon as possible, may be fatal to the constitution, and to the liberties of this kingdom.

II. We recommend to you, to use your utmost endeavours, that a law may pass, in the approaching sessions, for restoring Triennial Parliaments, and for limiting the duration of this present, and all future parliaments, to Three Years at most, as another great security for the constitution, against the arbitrary attempts of wicked and designing ministers; frequent elections depriving them of that enormous influence and power they now have to corrupt the representatives of the people, and so secure a venal majority of members in the house of commons, which may prevent, defeat, or put a stop to all enquiries into their public conduct: and that a clause be added in the above act, requiring, that for the future, the oath of bribery and corruption, at all elections, be taken by the candidates, and not the electors.

III. We request also, and recommend to you to enquire, How it comes to pass, that the eldest sons of peers in Scotland, who are declared incapable to represent any borough or shire in that kingdom, should be permitted to represent any borough or shire in *England*: and why, when all the commons of Scotland are, according to the act of Union, represented by forty-five members in the British parliament, Scots commoners are permitted to represent English boroughs, and to have *additional* voices in parliament: and whether the permitting Scots commoners, and eldest sons of peers of Scotland, to sit in parliament for English boroughs, be not inconsistent with, and contradictory to, the true spirit of the act of Union: We therefore most earnestly recommend to you, to propose an enquiry into the true spirit of the act of Union; and as far as in you lies, by all constitutional endeavours, to exclude Scotch commoners already elected, exceeding the number of forty-five, and not representing shires or boroughs in Scotland, from a seat and voice in the British parliament.

IV. We recommend to you, and strictly enjoin you, to enquire by what authority it was, that a Representative of the People in parliament was seized in his own house, dragged out of his own house, and in defiance of the Habeas Corpus Act, and Magna Charta, imprisoned in the Tower of London; all his papers, the most secret of them, rifled and carried away, under an avowed design of collecting evidence against him for a supposed libel; thereby obliging a free-born Englishman to turn his own accuser, contrary to the known laws of the land:

We also desire, and expect that you will use your utmost endeavours, to find out, by *whom* it was that a writ of Habeas Corpus granted by a Chief Justice, was *eluded*, and its authority *disobeyed*, in time of public peace and tranquillity : and the act of Habeas Corpus, that greatest and strongest bulwark of English liberty, broke down and trampled under foot, the powers of which were never known to be even *suspended*, but in times of public danger, of suspected conspiracies, open rebellion, or when a foreign enemy was in arms in the kingdom. The suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, though by Authority of Parliament, is ever understood to be, a suspension of the Liberty of the Subject : And We, therefore, desire and expect, that you will enquire, by whose advice it was, that private persons in office, armed with that *iron-engine* of oppression, and bearing that *ignominious* badge of slavery, a General Warrant, were employed or set on, and encouraged to dare to do that *by themselves*, which King, lords, and commons, the three estates of the realm, can only do *together*.

V. We most earnestly recommend to you to promote an enquiry into the power of an Attorney-General to file informations *ex officio*, that detestable relique of the Star-Chamber, and to see how far it may agree with the freedom of our constitution ; and that you will use your utmost endeavours to secure the liberties of the people from all arbitrary and unconstitutional stretches of authority ; and that you will promote an enquiry into the power of Judges to *alter* Records, *before* or *after* judgment, *before* or *after* trial, for the sake of the safety of every subject, and that they may not be liable to ruin, at the discretion of any future *time-serving* and corrupt judge, who, under the *golden* influence of a court, or the *tyrannical* influence of a *favourite* of a court, may, in the process of a few years, *over-rule* and *over-turn* all the established Laws of the Land.

VI. We recommend to you to promote a strict enquiry into the public accounts, and the heavy national debt, incurred by the vast profusion of expence attending the late just and necessary war ; and above all, to examine into the accounts delivered in by contractors and agents for the army and navy ; by comptrollers, directors and commissaries of the office of Controlle, and the commissariate abroad at Bremen in Germany, and by secretaries, under secretaries, and clerks of offices at home, by which such amazing fortunes have been suddenly, almost instantaneously, acquired by individuals ; and wherever delinquents are found, to bring all such *plunderers of the public* to condign and exemplary punishment ; and

and that you will promote a bill for the exclusion of contractors * of *all sorts*, employed by government, from a seat in the house of commons.

We most earnestly recommend to you, to bear in your minds, on this occasion, and to imprint on your hearts, the last most excellent words and advice given to a British parliament, by one of your best of princes :

‘ It is always with regret when I do ask aids of my people ; but you will observe, that I desire nothing which relates to any *personal expence of mine*.

‘ I am only pressing you to do all you can for *your own* safety and honour, at so critical and dangerous a time ; and am willing, that what is given, should be wholly appropriated for the purposes for which it is intended.

‘ And since I am speaking on this head, I think it proper to put you in mind, That during *the late war*, I ordered the accounts to be laid yearly before the parliament, and also gave my assent to several bills for taking the public accounts, that my subjects might have satisfaction, *how the money given for the war was applied*.

‘ And I am willing that matter may be put in any *sur-*ther way of examination, that it may appear, whether there were any misapplications and mismanagements ; or whether the debt that remains upon us, has really arisen from the shortness of the supplies, or the deficiency of the funds.

‘ It is fit I should tell you, the eyes of all Europe are upon *this* parliament ; all matters are at a stand, till your resolutions are known ; and therefore no time ought to be lost.

‘ You have yet an opportunity, by God’s blessing, to secure to you and your posterity, the quiet enjoyment of your Religion and Liberties, if you are *not wanting to yourselves* ; But I tell you plainly, My opinion is, if you do not lay hold on this occasion, you have no reason to hope for *another*.

VII. We also recommend to you, to promote a bill for laying a duty of 10s per hundred weight on sugar, which, according to the best calculation made by a late great chancellor of the Exchequer, (Mr. Legge) universally acknowledged to be the most able financier in Europe, will raise 500,000l. per annum ; and to repeal thereby the additional tax upon beer substituted in its room in the year 1753, and which has ever since been levied with such peculiar cruelty

* The neat profits of the tobacco contract alone, are estimated in value at 7000l. per annum,

and

and oppression upon the laborious poor of this great kingdom; the poor, already distressed and almost famished by the high and extravagant prices of provisions and corn; the reduction of which high and extravagant prices, we also most earnestly recommend to your consideration in parliament; and that you will use your utmost endeavours to give relief to the crying and very alarming necessities of the indigent and industrious part of the nation, your fellow subjects, and many of them your constituents and electors.

VIII. We recommend to you, and strictly charge you to enquire, and we expect that you will enquire, by whose *advice* it was, that a *separate* peace was concluded with France and Spain in 1762, by which a flagrant breach of national faith was committed, being in direct opposition to all treaties subsisting between our gallant ally the king of Prussia, and his late Majesty of glorious memory, renewed and confirmed by his present Majesty after his accession, in a treaty bearing date December 12, 1760, in which is contained the following article:

Article IV. "The High Contracting Powers moreover engage, viz. on the one side, His Britannic Majesty, as well King as Elector; and on the other, His Prussian Majesty, *not to conclude any Treaty of Peace, Truce, or Neutrality*, or other Convention or Agreement *whatever*, with the Powers who *have taken part* in the present war, but in Concert and by Mutual Agreement, and by comprehending each other by Name." Signed,

ROBERT HENLEY, C. S.
GRANVILLE, P.
HOLLES NEWCASTLE,
HOLDERNESSE.
HARDWICKE.
WILLIAM PITT,

A treaty of peace was, notwithstanding, entered into and concluded at Paris, between England, France, and Spain, *without the consent and mutual agreement* of the King of Prussia, in defiance of the above article of a most solemn treaty and engagement between his present Majesty and the King of Prussia, and within less than two years from the date thereof, by which the Honour and Public Faith of the nation became a sacrifice to *evil Counsellors and corrupt ministers*: and we do, therefore, request of You, our representatives, and do hereby call upon you to use your utmost endeavours to trace out, detect, and bring to *condign punishment*, all such *evil counsellors and corrupt ministers*, by whose *advice* the National Faith has been thus *ignominiously prostituted*, and *traiterously broke and forfeited*.

IX. We do also recommend to you, to promote an en-

quiry, by which the constitution *itself* may be examined into, according to its first original principles: And whereas the eldest sons of Peers were never admitted, but *always rejected* from a seat in the parliament of Scotland; the chief reason for which rejection, amongst others, was, "The enormous, and over-bearing influence and power of a numerous Peerage, which surrounding the Commons, thereby prevented freedom in elections; so that no commoner, holding any part of his lands of a peer, or indeed *being in his neighbourhood*, could be reckoned at liberty to make a free election of his representative;" and whereas the peerage of England is exceedingly numerous, and the influence and power of English peers sufficiently known and felt, as well elsewhere, as in their neighbourhood, and the freedom of elections as notoriously invaded, notwithstanding repeated resolutions of the House of Commons, declaring, "That it is a High Infringement of the Liberties and Privileges of the Commons of Great-Britain for any lord of parliament, or any lord-lieutenant of any county, to concern themselves in the election of members to serve for the Commons in Parliament:" And whereas, nothing can be more extravagantly absurd, or more unconstitutional, than that the sense of the Commons of Great-Britain should be delivered in parliament by Peers, and Representatives elected by Peers, which, in effect, is the *uniting* and making but *one* house of both houses of parliament; therefore, in order to remedy this dangerous innovation as *far*, and as *soon* as may be, and before the fatal consequences to our happy constitution, and the acknowledged rights and liberties of the people be spread too wide, and acquire too much strength, so as to bear down all opposition before them,

We do require, and do most strictly enjoin you, to move at the opening of next sessions of parliament, that a resolution may be passed, "Whereby the eldest sons of Peers of England, as well as those of Scotland, may be declared incapable to sit in the House of Commons of Great-Britain."

X. We recommend to you, and strictly charge you, carefully and impartially to enquire into the conduct of all such *Returning Officers*, of whose proceedings complaint shall at any time be made before the house; and to do justice to the Nation, by bringing all such criminals to condign punishment, who shall appear to have violated the rights of freeholders and legal voters at elections, thereby invading the birth-right and privilege of the British subject, and daringly insulting the constitution and liberty of their country.

XI. We recommend to you to promote an enquiry into the conduct of the several administrations during the last se-

ven years, and the causes of the late frequent changes and dismissions; and above all, to explore, and to endeavour to trace out and detect the secret influence of that undermining Favourite, by whose arbitrary measures and most pernicious counsels, this once happy and flourishing kingdom has been reduced from a state of power and triumph, of affluence and unanimity, into its present miserable state of imbecility and division, of distress and distraction.

XII. Lastly, We do most solemnly charge you, to demand out of custody, the person of JOHN WILKES, Esq; knight of the shire for the county of Middlesex, who, though a representative of the people duly elected to serve in parliament, was refused *bail*, and committed to prison on an *outlawry*, which was afterwards declared, by the *very Judges who committed him*, to be illegal; a man who so steadily defended the rights and privileges of All the Commons of England, when invaded, and who, with such unshaken intrepidity and perseverance; opposed the arbitrary attempts of Ministers and Secretaries of State, who presumed to violate, through Him, the first right of this free nation, the personal liberty of the subject, in the most outrageous and illegal manner; and who still is detained a prisoner in the King's bench prison: We therefore do most solemnly charge you, to demand the person of the said JOHN WILKES, Esq; that he may be enabled to take his seat amongst the duly-elected representatives to serve in this present parliament, lest the continued confinement of a knight of the shire for so great and opulent a county as that of Middlesex, now left without *any* representation at all, be for ever considered as a most daring insult upon the rights and privileges of the people; an open contempt of the authority of parliament; and an high and unexampled affront to the Dignity of the British House of Commons.

In full assurance of your faithful discharge of the great trust reposed in You, by Us your constituents, and of your strict attention in parliament to these our Instructions, transmitted to you before the opening of the sessions; and after repeated promises made to Us on your parts, previous to Your election, in all the printed papers, and signed with your own names; in full assurance of such your public-spirited conduct, We remain, with great respect,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most obedient Servants,
The Free and Independent Citizens and Electors
of the City and County of Norwich.

Norwich, October 25, 1768.

Being the Day of his Majesty's happy Accession to
the Crown of these Realms.

At

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

SIR,

At a very numerous and respectable meeting of the freeholders of the county of Middlesex, held Thursday, January 12, at the Mile-End assembly-room, the following instructions were unanimously agreed to, and directed to be transmitted to the knights of the shire :

To John Wilkes, Esq; and John Glynn, Esq; Knights of the Shire for the County of Middlesex.

" Gentlemen,

" **W**E, the freeholders of the county of Middlesex, direct and instruct you, our representatives in parliament,

" 1. To endeavour to continue to us, and to confirm our old constitutional, and only rightful trial—by jury.

" 2. To promote a strict parliamentary enquiry into the transactions of the Military in St. George's fields, on Tuesday the 10th of May last.

" 3. To promote a like enquiry into the riot and murders committed at Brentford, on the 8th of last December.

" 4. To examine into the administration of justice in this county; particularly into the present state of the commission of the peace.

" 5. And, as far as in your power, to promote an enquiry into the rights of the public, to the territorial revenue arising from the conquests in India."

John Sawbridge, Esq; member of parliament for Hiths in Kent, was, by the general voice, placed in the chair.

The instruction relating to the trial by jury, was moved by the Rev. Mr. Horne.

The three instructions relative to enquiries into the transactions of St. George's fields, the riot at Brentford, and the commission of the peace, were moved by James Adair, Esq;

And the enquiry relative to the territorial revenue of the conquests in India, was proposed by Benjamin Hayes, Esq.

The three gentlemen abovementioned, were appointed to convey these instructions to the knights of the shire, and desired to repeat to them the reasons (as well those advanced by themselves, as by others in the course of the debate) and the motives which induce the county to form such instructions at present.

For the **POLITICAL REGISTER.**

On Wednesday Jan. 25, at a meeting held of a considerable number of the electors of the city and liberty of Westminster, at the great room over Exeter exchange in the Strand, the following instructions to the right hon. Earl Percy and the hon. Edwin Sandys, representatives in parliament for that city and liberty, were agreed to, and are to be presented to them by a committee of the electors appointed for that purpose;

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ We the electors of the city and liberty of Westminster, direct and instruct you our representatives in parliament

“ First, To endeavour to continue to us, and to confirm our old constitutional rights of juries, to the general exclusion of proceedings by information and attachment.

Second. To promote a strict parliamentary enquiry into the transactions of the military in St. George's-fields, on Tuesday the tenth of May last.

Third. To promote a like enquiry into the riot and murders at Brentford on the eighth of last December.

Fourth. To examine into the administration of justice in this city and liberty, particularly into the present state of the commission of the peace.

Fifth. As far as in your power to promote an enquiry into the rights of the public, to the territorial revenue arising from the conquests in India.

Sixth. And we do strongly insist, that you never cease your endeavours to promote a parliamentary enquiry into the CASE and GRIEVANCES of John Wilkes, Esq; and to vindicate and support the RIGHTS of the people who have elected him their representative.

For the **POLITICAL REGISTER.**

To the avowed Enemies of John Wilkes, Esq;

BY my address it is very evident whose cause I espouse. When public spirit inspires any one to immerse in a cause, his opponents immediately have recourse to, and endeavour to render formidable, all the means arts of vilification, a vice which may yield satisfaction to the ignorant; but the discerning and impartial man will not suffer the cheat to pass for sterling; therefore, in the end it will render those

contemptible, and the object of ridicule, who with such freedom dare to sport with others characters; of the value of which let us call to mind the sentiment of the immortal Shakespeare.

Good name in man or woman, dear my lord,
Is the immediate jewel of their souls ;
Who steals my purse, steals trash, 'tis something, nothing,
'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands;
But he that filches from me my good name,
Robs me of that which not enriches him,
And makes me poor indeed.

OTHELLO;

The spirit of opposition from his opponents does not spring from the pure fountain of liberty ; it is only a cloak for their own imperfections ; such men being at all times ready to oppose such as they imagine possess a greater share of merit than themselves. On several late occasions, the publick have thought fit to attach themselves to the interests of a man, who apparently has been the object of ministerial oppression ; to hand down his character to public view in the most illiberal manner, no art has been unpractised ; with respect to his private conduct, as I profess an impartiality, I am fully persuaded that it will no more deserve a minute discussion, than that of the major part of mankind ; therefore, considering the imperfections of human nature, and how few characters there are free from blemish, I am fully persuaded that this will not add weight to the arguments of his opponents.—Again, the great ones, a title which some derive from their fortune, while in others it is only the food of their imagination, are pleased to say, he is only supported by an illiterate and vulgar mob. Hereby insinuating, because reason guides them to differ in opinion, that they are incapable of distinguishing right from wrong ; if then, this is really their deplorable situation, I think an enquiry into the source of such an evil is absolutely necessary ; as at an election one man's voice is of as much consequence as another's. I do not see why the higher classes, if things do not answer their wishes ; should, by degrading their inferiors, descend so much below real greatness ; have we not all faculties ? This none can deny, and I dare aver, many so work upon uncultivated nature, as to render them more servicable than those of their superiors ; it is evident that their reason is clouded, and that many of them have not sufficiently attended to that cultivation, which would have endowed them with sentiments more refined ; besides, though it suits their passions to reflect thus on the greater part of the community, they should consider that it is not those only that they deride and

contemn, but themselves and their predecessors : They, and they alone should set good examples : they are the persons that should be the patrons of our seminaries in a more immediate manner than at present ; for whatever way, (whether to virtue or vice) uncultivated nature is bent, in that position will it grow, and since so much depends on properly manuring of the rational, as well as the vegetable and other parts of the creation, consider but the consequences that must attend such neglect ; nothing less than an increase of dissipation, and a confirmation that we are an illiterate people, or that our systems of education are very defective ; therefore I pray you to cease stigmatizing the partizans of the patriot in the manner you have hitherto done, since it will only excite pity from them who are the objects of your disdain and contempt, for you, — but on the contrary, let it be your endeavour to excite and protect a laudable emulation in the rising generation. — Another of the vague attempts that were made use of on a late occasion, in order to dishearten his partizans, was, “ That he was a prisoner, and that his election would be derogatory to the office.” This, I presume, I may with safety contradict, for, though it is so honourable a body, I verily do believe there is not amongst them a more respectable member. As his punishment is generally thought u——, instead of its rendering him unworthy of their esteem, it should secure to him their protection. Has he not, during a succession of strange events, manifestly conducted himself with that integrity which loudly calls for, and meets with the concurrence of every true born Englishman ? By which I mean every one who really has at heart the interest of his king and country. It is true, that his support chiefly consists in the middling and inferior classes of people, such as are unawed by power, and will not sacrifice their reason at the shrine of superficial greatness, the advantage accruing from which, I hope will prove of great weight. For to use the phrase of a celebrated serjeant, “ I perceive the flame of public virtue is not totally extinguished ;” I must add, as he is not supported by those in power, to them he is under no obligations ; therefore, most certainly, he is less exposed to future temptations. — His abilities in public affairs are too well known for me to expatiate on them, but let a man’s parts be ever so extraordinary, when parties are formed, such is their inveteracy, that every means by which they can traduce, let it be ever so poignant, they conceive to be of too gentle a nature. — Since public spirit in two late attempts has crowned him with success, and added dignity, not only to the man, but to his

his cause; I doubt not but such salutary measures will take place, whereby he will be enabled to be of service to his country in the great senate of the nation, and become a worthy magistrate of one of the first commercial cities in Europe.

IMPARTIAL.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

SIR,

I N vindication of the spirit and conduct of those gentlemen in North-America, who have been announced to the nation as "turbulent and seditious persons, who, under false pretensions, have but too successfully deluded numbers of the subjects in America," I beg leave to transmit, through the channel of your Monthly Publication, some extracts of a letter from the Chief of the New-England Patriots, to a Noble Lord in England; a copy of which fell lately into my hands. By these it may be seen, that nothing can be more false and injurious, or more tainted with a spirit of tyranny, than aspersions of such a nature, against citizens of the British empire, who are only engaged in a calm and resolute defence of those rights, which are invariably and constitutionally inherent in them wherever they are, how far soever removed from the seat of empire. Even the great and most able contriver of the Stamp-Act, hath confessed, in the Pamphlet, entitled, The State of the Nation; or a friend of his for him, that America should either be represented in parliament, or taxed only, according to the usual method, by requisition to the different provinces. If so, surely it cannot but be thought a worthy deed, to vindicate one of the most considerable of those leaders, who have been injuriously considered as fomenting disturbances, "fatal to the Colonies immediately," and in the end, to all the dominions of the British nation. This letter having been wrote, without any view to gloss over the intentions of the colonists, is the more worthy of notice, and of credit. The extracts are as follows:

"My Lord,

"I embrace the first opportunity, with all humility and gratitude, to acknowledge the great honour I have received, in a letter from your lordship. At a time when so heavy a cloud seems to be impending over North-America, it gives a singular pleasure, to find a nobleman of your lordship's rank, genius, and learning, so clearly avowing the cause of liberty
"and

"and injured innocence. Your lordship's sentiments are a full proof, that the *love of virtue and truth*, is the best and surest basis of nobility.

"The cause of America, is, in my humble opinion, the cause of the whole British empire: an empire, which, from my earliest youth, I have been taught to love and revere, as founded on the principles of natural reason and justice; and, on the whole, the best calculated for general happiness, of any that has yet risen to view in the world. In this view of the British empire, my lord, I incessantly pray for its prosperity, and sincerely lament all adverse occurrences.

"The hon. Thomas Cushing, Esq; speaker of the house of representatives here; Mr. Samuel Adams, the clerk; John Hancock, Esq; my brother member for Boston; the hon. James Otis, Esq; member for Barnstable, &c. desire to present their very dutiful and respectful thanks to your lordship, for putting it in my power to gratify them with those you have distinguished, as of the same principles and sentiments of civil and religious *liberty* with yourself.

"Situated as we are, my lord, in the wilds of America, a thousand leagues from the fountains of *honour and justice*. In all our distresses, we pride ourselves on our *loyalty to the King*, and on our affection to the mother-country.

Boston. "I am, &c. &c.

July 18, 1768.

"JA. OTIS."

To the Editor of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

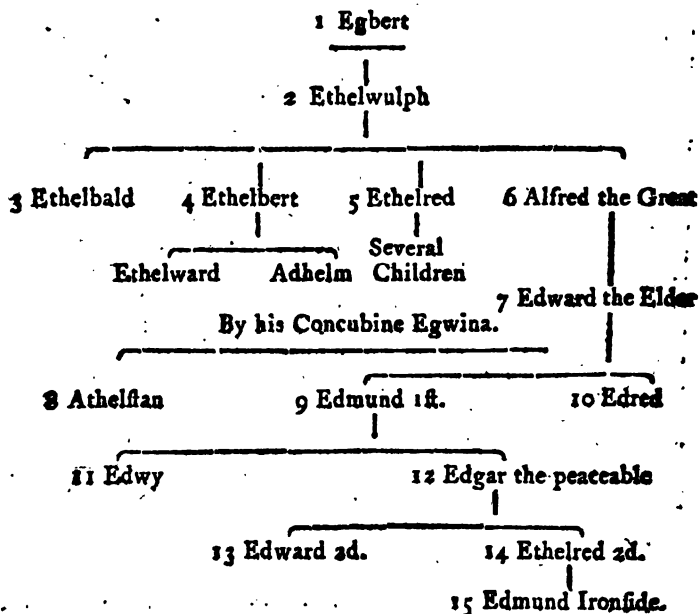
S I R,

THE following remarks on a passage in Dr. Blackstone's Commentaries, are taken from Rápin. They are laid down, I am willing to hope, with plainness and conciseness; and no inferences are drawn from them. I have no right to draw any. The detection of error, is a debt which each individual owes to society; but abusive reflections will not help him to discharge it. And where characters of reputation are attacked by us "fellows of no note or likelihood," it is enough that the enemy is concealed,—he ought not to shoot with poisoned arrows.

Our author, in the 1st vol. of his Commentaries, chap. 3. reviews the genealogical part of our history, from the union of the heptarchy, to the present time; and enters on his review, with the following remarkable assertion (p. 198. edit. 2d)

From

" From Egbert, to the death of Edmund Ironside, a period
 " of above two hundred years, the crown descended *regularly*,
 " through a succession of fifteen princes, *without any deviation or interruption*; save only, that king Edred, the uncle
 " of Edwy, mounted the throne for about nine years, in
 " the right of his nephew, a minor, the times being very
 " troublesome and dangerous.—But this was with a view to
 " preserve, and not to destroy the succession; and accord-
 " ingly Edwy succeeded him."
 Let us compare this very short table, with the above passage.



From hence it appears, that not only on almost every minority (excepting that of Edward 2d. and Ethelred 2d.), but even when the heirs, by hereditary right, were of full age, the nation chose to persist in confirming the bequest of the deceased prince, or rather their own right of bestowing the crown, as they judged most conducive to the welfare of the state.

Ethelwulph bequeathed his kingdom to his three younger sons successively, without any notice taken of their children —(Ethelbald, the eldest, he passed over, because he had wrested from the old monarch, the kingdom of Wessex; which

which, however, reverted, on Ethelbald's death, to Ethelbert, the second brother, as his father's heir *). Accordingly, Ethelred succeeded Ethelbert his brother, in exclusion of the right of his nephews, who were minors.—On the death of Ethelred, Alfred came to the throne, notwithstanding the double claim of the sons of his two elder brothers. Alfred was succeeded by his son Edward; and though Ethelward, stow of age to assert his right, claimed the kingdom, as the eldest branch of Ethelwulph's family, by his father Ethelbert, he could not prevail with a single nobleman in the nation, to support his pretensions. On the death of Edward the elder, and the minority of Edmund his son, the parliament went so far, as to elect Athelstan, though he was illegitimate, and his mother only a shepherd's daughter. After all these changes, comes the case of Edred and Edwy, the single instance that Dr. Blackstone has taken notice of.

It must be observed, in justice to our elegant commentator, that the mistake before us does not affect the fundamental maxim on which he supposes the right of succession to depend: (p. 191, he saith, "That the crown is, by common law and constitutional custom, hereditary; and this, in a manner, peculiar to itself: but that the right of inheritance may, from time to time, be changed or limited by act of parliament; under which limitations, the crown still continues hereditary."

For each time the right of inheritance was changed or limited, it was totius nobilitatis consensu pariter et assensu; or, taking nobilitas in the large sense, it then undoubtedly bore—by act of parliament.

London,

Dec. 18, 1768.

* I have chose to follow Rapin in this account, who quotes Alfred's will in Asser, for his authority; yet a quotation from the same will, given by lord Lyttelton, in his life of Henry 2d. (vol. 1st. p. 434. note on p. 3. edit. 2.) from Asser, makes no mention of Ethelbert, and supposes Ethelbald to have been a successor named by his father. "De hereditate, quam pater meus Æthelwulphus rex nobis tribus fratribus delegavit, viz. Æthelbaldo, Æthelredo & mihi, ita quod, qui nostrum diutius foret superstes, ille totius regni dominio congauderet."—The difference is not very material to the point in question; for in either case, Alfred's children, at least, were not the heirs by hereditary right.

† Vide Lord Lyttelton ubi in nota precedenti.

For

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

A LIST of the spirited and independent FREEHOLDERS of
MIDDLESEX; Enemies to ministerial Influence, and Court
Despotism.

- A** BDY William, Anchor and
Hope alley
Abel William, Church lane, Chelsea
Abel Bartholomew, Edmonton
Adam Alex. Wapping old stairs
Adams Joseph, Basinghall street
Adams Samuel, Black fryars
Adaier James, Lincoln's inn
Addison John, High street, Bloomf-
bury
Alday John, Queen street
Aldin William, Uxbridge
Alexander Richard, Hammer Smith
Alexander John, Rickmansthorn,
Herts
Allen Edward, Castle street, Ox-
ford road
Allen John, Whitechapel
Allen Thomas, Burr street, Ald-
gate
Allen Thomas, Dulwich college
Allen Thomas, Haymarket
Allingdan William, Swan yard, St.
Leonard Shoreditch
Ambrose Laurence, Nightingale-
lane
Andrews William, Salisbury
Anderson William, Long alley,
Moorfields
Andrews John, Old Brentford
Angling William, Cross court,
Covent garden
Ansell Benjamin, Limehouse
Ansell Samuel, London street, Rat-
cliff cross
Archer John, Tottenham high cross
Archer William, Primrose street
Armstrong William, Aldersgate str.
Arnold Matthew, Red lion street,
Wapping
Arnold John, Wapping dock
Arrowsmith Richard, Church lane
Limehouse
Vol. IV. M
- Arthur John, Moorfields
Ayscough Francis, Queen Anne str.
Athar John, Leatherhead, Surrey
Ash Thomas, Twickenham
Ashby Benjamin, Clerkenwell green
Ash John, Arundel street
Ashley Richard, St. Dunstan's east
Ashley John, Bishopsgate street
Ashley James, Sunbury
Ashley Charles, Hanway yard
Ashley Daniel, Lit. Sutton, Chif-
wick gar.
Ashmore John, Shoreditch
Aslet Henry, Sunbury
Aspden Andrew, Old street
Asie Peter, Sparrow corner, Little
Tower hill
Aspinall James, St. Geo. Middlesex
Atkins John Pace, London wall
Atkinson James, Hoxton town
Atkinson William, Little Tower
hill
Atkinson Francis, St. Margaret
Westminster
Atlee John, Harmondsworth
Avery Richard, Hanover square
Avery John, St. John's street
Averell John, Limehouse
- B.**
- Bacon Charles, Hampton wick
Bacon Joseph, Hampton wick
Backhouse Farmer, Hatton in par,
Belfont
Backhouse James, Whitechapel
Baggett Joseph, Tottenham
Baggaley William, Red-lion market
Baird, Joseph, Holborn
Baker Thomas, ditto
Baker John, Lewisham, Kent
Baker Joshua, Garden court, Temple
Balch Edward, Kingland
Balfon

- Balfon Robert, Limehouse
 Ballans Robert, Chesshunt, Herts
 Ball John, New inn
 Bamford John, Bromley St. Leonard
 Barber John, King Edw. str. White-
 chapel
 Barefoot John, Hermitage dock
 Barlow John, Farm str. Berkley squ,
 Barnard John, Lime street
 Barnes Charles, St. Albans street
 Westminster
 Barnes Henry, Bell savage yard
 Ludgate hill
 Barnford John, Pinner
 Barrow John, Tottenham court road
 Barry Isaac, Deptford
 Bartlet John, Dog and Bear yard
 Tooley street
 Bartlett John, jun. ditto
 Barwell Richard, Ether
 Bastin William, Hillingdon end
 Batt Matthew, Harlington
 Bavenor Nathaniel, sen. Greenford
 Bavendr Nathaniel, jun. ditto
 Baylis Samuel, St. Anne's, Limehouse
 Bayley Samuel, Kingston on Thames
 Baynard Thomas William, Hanover
 yard
 Bayley Edward, Pinner
 Beal William, Mary-le-Bon
 Beak Thomas, South Mims parish,
 Barnet
 Beal Joseph, Penitent street
 Beachamp Thomas, Hatton
 Beal Richard, St Margaret's hill
 Bean William, Ratcliff
 Beardley Samuel, Bishopsgate str.
 Beaumont Michael, Putney
 Beck Stephen, St. George Ratcliffe
 Beck Francis, Goswell street
 Beckwith Humphry, Whitechapel
 Beedon John, Hammer Smith
 Belford John, Union street, Wapping
 Bell Daniel, Stamford hill
 Bell William, Bridge street West-
 minster
 Bellamy John, Poplar
 Bellas George, Doctor's Commons
 Bellingier James, Crown court, St.
 James's
 Benbrook Edward, Poplar
 Benson Thomas, Gray's inn
 Bentley Caleb, Ratcliff highway
 Bernard Edward, Bartlet's build-
 ings, Holborn
 Berney William, Wapping dock
 Best Thomas, Finchurch street
 Betts John, Wapping
 Betts Thomas, Hoxton square
 Beverley Vincent, George street,
 Bethnal green
 Bezier Leonard, Hermitage street
 Bickardike Thomas, Cow cross
 Billings George, Drury lane
 Billings Isaac, Strand
 Birch Moses, Limehouse
 Birch John, East Smithfield
 Birch George, Hatton garden
 Bird William, Exeter str. Covent-
 garden
 Bird Samuel, East Smithfield
 Bishard Charles, Shoreditch
 Bishop Thomas, Finchley
 Bissin Daniel, West Ham, Essex
 Blake Robert, New Inn
 Blackall Thomas, Holywell street,
 Blakiston George, Strand
 Blakiston Richard, Pall Mall
 Blackman Robert, Limehouse
 Blackwell Joseph, Devonshire str.
 Red Lion square
 Blair Thomas, Strand
 Blanchard Christopher, Gerrard str.
 St. Ann's
 Blisset Thomas, Holnden green
 Blomer Montagu, Greenwich
 Blower John, St. John's street
 Blue John, Liquorpond street
 Blunt Richard, Stanwell
 Blunt Thomas, Kensington
 Blunt John, Staines
 Boddington James, Basing lane,
 Bread street
 Bold John, Egham
 Bolton Daniel, St. Clement Danes
 Bollin John, Lambeth
 Bond Edward, Golden lane
 Bond Dyer, Sydenham, Kent
 Boneherrin Daniel, Parker's lane,
 Drury lane

- Boe Gerge, Whitechapel
 Boarer Jonathan, Chives's court
 Limehouse
 Bosworth John, Theale, Berkshire
 Bottomley Joseph, Newgate street
 Bottomley John, St. Paul's church
 yard
 Bourgeois Lewis Freeman, Poplar
 Bourlet Jacob, Dulwich
 Bovingdon Thomas, Edgware
 Bovington William, Penn, Bucks
 Boutflower Edward, Gray's inn
 Bowditch Daniel, Gray's inn lane
 Bowles George, Bartlett's buildings
 Bowers John, Drury lane
 Bovie Charles, Temple
 Boydon Josiah, Bethnal green
 Braddock George, St. George in
 the east
 Brain Joseph, Rosamond row, Cler-
 kenwell
 Braint Joseph, Newgate street
 Braint Andrew, Covent garden
 Bramber Humphry, Old street, St.
 Luke's
 Bramley Thomas, Afton parish
 Breeze Henry, Winchmore hill
 Brett Robert, Jewin street, No. 46
 Brett Samuel, Moorfields
 Bretton John, St. L. Shoreditch
 Bride James, Strand
 Bridgen William, Forty hill; En-
 field
 Bridges Joseph, Carey lane, Foster
 lane
 Bridger George, Gracechurch str.
 Britow Harry, Aldermanbury
 Briggs John, Wandsworth
 Brittain Thomas, Witham in Surry
 Broadwater Robert, Shadwell
 Brady Hugh, Hackney road
 Bromley William, High street,
 Southwark
 Brookman Stephen, Vine street,
 Piccadilly
 Brooks Thomas, Cateaton street
 Brooks Richard, Hammer Smith
 Brooks William, Wardour street
 St. James's
 Bromhead John, Aldgate high str.
 Bromfield Thomas, Ewell, Surry
 Brotherton John, Islington
 Brown Thomas, Arundel street
 Brown Nicholas, North street
 Brown Thomas, little Pulteney str.
 Brown Alexander, Bromley
 Brown William, Strand
 Brown William, Curstoor street
 Bruin Thomas, Ponder's end
 Bryan Henry, Southall
 Bryan Joseph, Precinct, Savoy
 Bryant William, Turnham green
 Bucknall John, Red lion street Spi-
 talfields
 Buck Edward, Battersea
 Budge Richard, Putney common
 Buhet Peter, Knightsbridge
 Bullock John, Stanwell
 Bullock Henry, ditto
 Bullock Thomas, Marybone
 Bunyon John, Burt street, Bloom-
 bury
 Burbridge Thomas, Leaden-hall str.
 Burford John, Brentford
 Bunn John, Spitalfields
 Bunn Joseph, Whitecross street
 Burch Joseph, North Audley street
 Burchett Samuel, Billingsgate
 Burcombe John, Harlington
 Burcombe William, Kingston
 Burman Allen, Tóthill street
 Burman Richard, Petty France
 Burnall George, Golden lane
 Burnell John, ditto
 Burnell John, Green street
 Burnett James, Chelsea
 Burnett Edward, Queen str. golden
 square
 Burnett Gilbert, Strand
 Burroughs Thomas, ditto
 Burrows Walter, Lambeth
 Burton William, Jermyn street
 Bwy James, Hoxton
 Busbey Thomas, Blackman street,
 Southwark
 Bush Thomas, Piccadilly
 Butcher William, Golden lane, St.
 Luke's
 Butt Richard, Kingston

Bynon John, Allen's court, Leaden-
hall street

Byren James, Parker's lane, Drury
lane

C.

Cabet Frank, Deptford

Caldecott Alex. Upper Moorfields

Campbell William, St. Olave str.
Southwark

Campbell Robert, Whitechapel road

Campbell John, Whitechapel

Camell Samuel, Marham street

Capper Thomas, Buckridge str.
St. Giles's

Carlos William, Drury lane

Carpenter Charles, Tufton street

Carr Oliver, Fulham

Carr Lewis George, Little Britain

Carrick John, Wardrew Northamp-
tonshire

Carter John, Edmonton

Carter John, Tottenham

Carter John, Stanwell

Carter Joseph, Great Trinity lane

Cartwright Richard, Shadwell

Cary Robert, Hampstead

Cash John, Shoreditch

Castle James, Knightbridge

Caston William, Chiswell street

Castor Edward, Jermyn street

Cater George, Staines

Cater John, Newcastle street

Catman Peter, Strutton ground
Westminster

Challis Daniel, Fetter lane

Chamberlain William, Princes squ.

Chambers Henry, Old Montague st.
Whitechapel

Champaign James, New Nicol st.

Champion John, Hanwell

Chapman Edward, Egham, Surrey

Chapman Tyson, Putney

Chapman Charles, Hillingdon

Chandler John, Laleham

Chappel Richard, Little Queen st.

Chase Edward, Sunbury

Charlwood James, Colnbrook

Cherry William, Gerrard st. St. Anns

Chetwood John, Wandsworth

Cheefman John, Bethnal green

Child John, Upper Harford, Sunbury

Child Thomas, Amersham, Bucks

Chillingworth Thomas, Berwick st.
Soho

Chidley George, Orange street,
Leicester fields

Chrystal Hugh Cloberey, Bloomf-
bury square.

Church William, Chiswell street

Church Thomas, Mile End old
town

Churchman Charles, St. Martin's
lane

Churchman William, Sunbury.

Clare William, Channel row

Clare John, Limehouse, Lisby's rope
walk

Clare John, Limehouse

Clark Ralph, Enfield

Clark John, Druggist, Barbican

Clark John, Kensington

Clark John, Nightingale lane

Clark John, Old Brentford

Clark John, Primrose street

Clark Henry, Market st. St. James's

Clark Samuel, Shadwell

Clarke Edward, St. Mary Lambeth

Clark Samuel, Old Brentford

Clarke Benjamin, Strand on the
green

Clark James, Leicester street

Clarke Samuel, Gray's inn lane

Clarke Edward, Penn, Bucks

Clarke Robert, Peter str. Westm.

Clark Richard, Holborn

Clemmitt James, Haymarket

Coales Thomas, Baker's buildings,
old Bedlam

Cobham John, St. Luke's parish

Cock David, Great Pultney street

Cogg Timothy, Maiden lane,
Cheapside

Colborne Joseph, Brompton

Cole George, Golden square.

Cole Edward, Newgate street

Coleman William, Goswell street

Collicote Thomas, Moorfields

Collet

Collet John, Stanes
 Collet Richard, little Chelsea
 Collier Josias, Blackman st. South-
 wark
 Collier Richard, Cobham, Surry
 Collings Joseph, High Holborn
 Collis Thomas, Fleetstreet
 Colvill Cornelius, Cheapside
 Commyns William, Cambridge st.
 Carnaby market
 Compton John, Hillingdon
 Compton Samuel, Lambeth
 Coker Woodhouse, St. James's
 Clerkenwell
 Cook Ralph, Well str. St. Mary le
 bon
 Cook Samuel, Blue Anchor alley,
 Bunhill row
 Cook Edward, Sunning hill
 Cooper Richard, Bromley
 Cooper John, Shoreditch
 Combes Richard, Great Marlow
 Cooper John, Southall
 Cooper Thomas, Tokenhouse yard
 Cooper Richard, Jun. Bromley
 Cope James, Litchfield str. St. Anns
 Cope Robert, Gutter lane
 Cope Henry, Red lion street
 Copeland John, Sunbury
 Corbett John, Poplar
 Corbett Charles, Fleetstreet
 Cornelius John, Stepney
 Cornell John, Tottenham high cross
 Cottam Lawrence, Charles street,
 Cavendish square
 Cotterell Daniel, Clerkenwell
 Cotton Charles, Inner Temple lane
 Cotterell John, Symond's Inn
 Cotton Thomas Dryon, Spitalfields
 Cox Thomas, Forestreet
 Cox Leader, Bristow causeway Surry
 Cox John Hippisley, Lincoln's inn
 Coyd William, Red lion street
 Craven John, Southgate
 Creak William, Hoddeston, Hert.
 Crew Michael, Stanwell
 Crew Thomas, ditto
 Crispin Silver, Gray's inn lane
 Crockford Robert, Egham
 Crompton Benjamin, Cockspur str.
 Cross William, East str. Red lion squ.

Crook Robert, Beaconsfield, Bucks
 Crook William, Throgmorton str.
 Crookenden Thomas, West Ham
 Crow Richard, Long alley, Moor-
 fields
 Crowther Thomas, Brewer str. St.
 James's
 Clucher Timothy, Betsy's str. Rat-
 cliffe highway
 Cunnick John, Abchurch lane
 Cunningham Thomas, Limehouse
 Currant Charles, Hermitage stairs
 Curson Richard, Richmond, Surry
 Curteis John, St. John's str. Wapping
 Curtis John, Whitechapel road
 Curtis Samuel, Wapping
 Curtis Joseph, Wapping.
 Curry William, Poplar

D

Dakin George, Broad St. Gile's
 Dale Jonas, Burr street
 Dancer Thomas, Fleet lane
 Dancer Daniel, Harrow on the hill
 Danvers Sir John, Hanover square.
 Darby Thomas, Sunbury,
 Dark William, Goodman's Fields.
 Darjei Theodore, New-Inn,
 Darnell William, Bermondsey
 church yard
 Darqure Henry, Minorities,
 Davis John, Islington,
 Davis John, Sunbury,
 Davis Jas, Cow cross, West Smithd.
 Davis Richard, Chelsea,
 Davis Charles, Southall Green,
 Davis Samuel, Little Queen street
 Davis Jonathan, York Buildings
 Dawson Peter, Clements Lane,
 Daxe Benjamin, Mercer street, Long-
 Acre
 Day William, Hounslow,
 Day Henry, Charles st. Mary le bone,
 Architect.
 Deadman Francis, Dover st. Picca-
 dilly.
 Dean Thomas, Stratford,
 Deane Arthur, Holywell st. Shored.
 De-Charms David, Hammersmith
 Dekewer John, Hackney,
 Delacourt

Delacourt Dan Fromaget, Bethnal Green,

Deleroy Robert, Battersea

Dennis Jonathan, Finchley

Descaries David, Artillery ground, Duke street

Devall John, St. Martin's lane

Dibble John, Wandsworth

Dickenson James, Moorfields

Digby Charles, jun. Hermitage, Wapping

Dignal William, Holborn

Dignan William, Piccadilly

Dingley William, Laleham

Dirs Carlton, Wellclose square

Dite Samuel, Ironmonger row

Divett Edward } West Smithfield,
Divett John }

Dobbs John, Tottenham High-Cross

Dolman William, Queen st. Shore-ditch

Dolphin Joseph, Cumberland st.

Don Peter, St. Ann's Lane,

Dorrell John Chambers, Hampton

Dormer Thomas, Hermitage, Wapping.

Douglas Robert, Bishopgate st.

Dove Charles, St. Clement Danes.

Dowse David, Hoxton.

Downer William, High st. South-wark

Downes John, Piccadilly

Drake Thomas, Limehouse

Draper John, South Audley street

Drayton Edmund, Rotherhithe wall

Drinkwater William, New Brentford

Drinkwater Robert, Hoxton

D'rippe Lawrence, Gray's inn lane

Driver Richard, Silver street

Dru Drury, Wood street

Duckett John, Berwick street, Soho

Deadman William, Carnaby market

Duffell John, Bread street

Dunn William, Tottenham

Dummer James, old Brentford

Dupree John, Stamford hill, Tottenham

Durier Samuel, Strutton ground, Westminster

Dutton James, St. Dunstan's hill

Dyer John, East Ham

Dykes William, Artichoke lane

E.

Eady John, Enfield

Edmonson Joshua, Hornsey

Earl Thomas, Charter house square

East Henry, Long ditch, Westm.

East Richard, Staines

Easton Samuel, Bermondsey

Easton Charles, Rotherhithe

Easthop John, Wapping

Eastwood William, Hoxton

Ecert John, Chelsea

Edmunds John, West Moulsey

Edwards George, Turnham Green

Edwards William, Limehouse

Edwards William, Islington

Elbey Nathaniel, Wapping wall

Elmer James, North end

Elmes John, Hillingdon end

Ellis William, North street, Westm.

Estope Richard, St. George's.

Evans John, St. Catharine's

Ever John, Pinner

Everard John, Mansel Street

Everden Henry, Edmonton

Everit Thomas, Moorfields

Everit William, Mile end

Eustace Joseph, Bethnal Green

Ewer Edward, Wapping street

Eyles Thomas, Princes squ. Shadwell

Eyre Walpole, Charles street St. James

Exeter James, St. Mary, Whitechapel

Exley John, Chancery lane

F.

Farmer James, Bread street

Farrington William, Ratchiffe highway

Faulkner John, Shoreditch

Fatt William, Castle street, Seven-dials

Fazakerly Edward, Hornsey

Featherstone John, Spitalfields

Fells John, Cowley street, St. John's, Westminster

Fell Nicholas Joseph, Duke street, Westminster F. elthead

Feltstead Thomas, Gracechurch str.
 Felton William, Highgate
 Fenwick Daniel, Hillingdon
 Fern John, Tottenham
 Field William, Walton, Thames
 Filmer Francis, Lincoln's inn new square
 Filts Henry, St. Clements church yd.
 Fisher John, Wandsworth
 Fisher John, Staines
 Fitzwater John, Ashford, Staines
 Flight Thomas, Monument yard
 Flemming John, jun. Shadwell
 Fleetwood Gerard Dutton, Leatherhead, Surrey
 Fleetwood Joshua, Peter st. Westminster
 Fletcher Richard, Islington
 Fleurcau Isaiah, Haymarket, St. Jam.
 Fleurill John, New Nichol's street
 Foddy Richard, Salisbury court
 Fogerty Lawrence, St. John's str.
 Ford Thomas, Buckingham
 Ford Thomas, Buckingham
 Forrest Robert, Enfield
 Forster Joseph, Mile end old town
 Forth Jeremiah, Kingston
 Foster Henry, St. John's, Wapping
 Fortescue Francis, Dog row, Bethnal green
 Fortescue William, Finch lane
 Fortescue James Francis, Fleet street
 Fountain Peter, Litchfield str. Soho
 Fowkes Stephen, Bartlet's court, Clerkenwell
 Fowler John, Wapping
 Fowler James, Featherstone build.
 Fox Isaac, Trinity, Minories
 Fox William, Holborn, corner of Leather lane
 Fox Timothy, Rotherhithe
 Fox Joseph, St. Marg. Ch. yard, Westminster
 Frank John, Westbourn green
 Franklin William, Chelsea
 Frazer William, Strand
 French Christopher, Newgate mar.
 French John, Stanwell
 French Richard, Heston
 Freeman John, Wiltshire
 Fry John, Rochester

Fuller John, Brentford
 Fuller John, Hoxton

G

Gale Henry, Chancery lane
 Gallop William, Barking
 Galwith John, Aldermanbury
 Gamsom Nicholas, Tuke street
 Gamull Thomas, Took's Court
 Gardner George, Gravel Lane, Southwark
 Gardner William, Norton Folgate
 Garred George, Poplar
 Garle Thomas, Esq; Labour-in-vain hill
 Garret John, Limehouse
 Gastine James, Dufour's court, St. James's
 Gayler Joseph, New Brentford
 Gaylor John, Kensington
 George Edward, Poplar
 George William, Enfield
 Gibbard Timothy, Gardner's Lane, Westminster
 Gibbard William, Parliament street Westminster
 Gibbs John, Rosemary Lane
 Gibbons Walter, Highgate
 Gibbons Edward, Oxford Street, Mary le bon
 Gildart Thomas, Finchley
 Gilbert Benjamin, Bishopsgate street
 Gilder John, Middle Row, St. Giles's
 Giles John, Tottenham
 Gillam Charles, Moorfields
 Gillespy James, Hermitage
 Gillet William, Westminster Bridge
 Gin Jacob, Winchmore hill
 Ginger William, Stanwell
 Gittas John, Parker's Lane, Drury-Lane
 Gladman James, Rissip
 Glas William, Strand
 Glover John, St. George's in the East
 Goch John Jones, Chiswick
 Goddard Anthony, May Fair
 Goffe Thomas, Enfield
 Goldhawk John, jun. Staines
 Goldhaw

Goldhaw Charles, Staines
 Goodman John, Shoreditch
 Goldsmith John, Limehouse
 Goldsmith Thomas, Richmond
 Goodson William, Jermyn Street
 Goodwin William, Feltham middle
 Goodwin Henry, St. Ann's Hill, Surry
 Goodwin Edwin, Shoe lane
 Goldhawk John, Staines
 Gould John, Hoxton Square
 Gowland Ralph, Mortimer Street Cavendish Square
 Grace Joshua, at Mr. Howe's at Chertsey
 Grace Richard, Old Street
 Graves William, Shug Lane
 Gray Peter Abbey, Leicester fields
 Grayham George, St. Martin's lane
 Greathead Thomas, Turnham green
 Gregory Henry, Hampstead road
 Gregory John, Piccadilly
 Green Herbert, at Mr. Lowe's, Drury Lane
 Greening Thomas, Piccadilly
 Green William, Shoreditch
 Green Matthew, York Buildings
 Green Edmund, Old Bethlem
 Greenalgh T. Allen Esq; Henrietta Street, Cavendish Square
 Greenhead John, Chelsea
 Griffiths William, Whitechapel court
 Grimault Stephen, Brentford end
 Grime John, Tower Hill
 Grimstead Valentine, Old Street, St. Luke's
 Grindley James, Chelsea
 Groombridge Thomas, North Street Westminster
 Groom Thomas, King's Langley, Herts
 Grow Benjamin, Waltham Cross
 Grubb Henry, Limehouse
 Greylock Walter, Burr Street, Aldgate
 Gilbert Lewis, Spitalfields
 Guy Frampton, Fenchurch Street
 Gundry Christopher, Hamilton Street

H

Hagen Benjamin, Poplar
 Hague John, Tottenham
 Hague John, Hampton
 Haines William, Ruffel Street, Covent Garden
 Haines Thomas, Rosemary Lane
 Haines John, Twickenham
 Haines John, Berwick Street
 Haines John, Pall mall
 Hall John, Limehouse
 Hall Henry, Poplar
 Hals Minfon, Limehouse
 Hamilton Charles, Rumsford
 Hammon Robert, Swan in Oxford Road
 Hambrough James, Little Britain
 Handcock Sand, Rosemary Lane
 Hankey Henry, Wapping Old stairs
 Harding Thomas, Minories
 Harding Henry, Duke Street, Grosvenor Square
 Hardwick Thomas, Draper's hall
 Hardy Charles, Cheapside
 Hardy Joseph, Chelsea
 Hargest James, Tower Hill
 Hargrave James, Tottenham
 Harlott Robert, Hammer Smith
 Hart Moses, Long Acre
 Harris John, Laleham
 Harris Archibald, Queen Street, Westminster
 Harris Thomas, Chelsea
 Harris Joseph, West Ham
 Harris Michael, Southall
 Harris John, Tower Street
 Harris Thomas, Limehouse
 Harrison Edward, Cold bath fields
 Harrison Thomas, Mile End
 Harrison John, Bloomsbury
 Harrison Mat. Grocer, Chelsea
 Harrison Joseph, Brown's Wharf
 Hatcher John, East Bedford
 Harvey Samuel, Twickenham
 Harwood Thomas, Tottenham
 Haslar Edward, Uxbridge
 Hawes William, Strand
 Hawes Thomas, Snow's-Fields, Southwark
 Hawes Henry, Chiswick
 Hawes Benjamin, Islington

- Hawkins Benjamin, Cannon Street
 Hawkesley Francis, Islington
 Hay John, Old-Bailey
 Hayes Edmund, Warwick Street,
 Golden Square
 Hayes Benjamin, Wimbledon
 Haymer John, Stepney
 Hayward John, Fenchurch Street,
 St. Gabriel
 Heath William, Stanwell
 Heath John, Longford
 Hefford Joseph, Tower
 Hemming Joseph, East Smithfield
 Henderson Christopher, Hummertown
 Henderson Patrick, Green-bank
 Herbert Dennis, Lambeth
 Hickman Edward, Islington
 Hideman John, New Brentford
 Higgins William, Talbot Inn,
 Southwark
 Higley James, Clare-market
 Higgs John, Cambridge
 Hill William, Crown Street, Co-
 vent Garden
 Hill John, Enfield
 Hill Jonathan, Barnaby Street
 Hill John, Sunbury
 Hill Jonathan, Bethnal-green
 Hill Henry, Hadley
 Hills William, Hackney
 Hils Robert, Rosamond's Row,
 Clerkenwell
 Hilthall James, Kenfington
 Hilton Abraham, Grays Inn
 Hinton Richard, St. Paul, Shadwell
 Hinton Richard, ditto
 Hitchman Thomas, St. James's
 Market
 Hoare John, Shepperton
 Hodgkin Josiah, St. John's Wap-
 ping
 Hodgson John Johnson, Thames-
 Ditton
 Hodgson Robert, Snow Hill
 Hogson George, Bow
 Hoggins Thomas, Isleworth
 Hooke Christopher, Esq: Newgate
 Street and Herts
 H lborn Mark, Strand
 Hoolbook Joseph, Villar's Street
 Holder Joseph, Bishopsgate Street
 Holmes Valentine Arnold, Chelsea
 Holland Thomas, Chiswick
 Holmes Samuel, Bartholomew
 Close
 Holmes Robert, Twickenham
 Holloway Moses, St. Leonard,
 Shoreditch
 Home Charles, Mary le bon
 Hone Joseph, Limehouse
 Honor Henry, West Drayton
 Hood Gafeley, Edmonton
 Hooke George, Strutton Ground,
 Westminster
 Hopkins Anthony, King Street,
 Westminster
 Horne John, Brentford
 Horne Benjamin, Ealing
 Hornsby John, Sibson
 Horsford John, Ratcliff Highway
 Horwood Jesse, King Street, Gol-
 den Square
 Hoskins John, Pelham Street, Good-
 man's Fields
 Hoskyns John, Colnbrook
 Howse Harry, Hammersmith
 Howard John, Fish-Street Hill
 Howard Josiah, Mile End Old
 Town
 House Thomas, Stilton
 Hubbard Thomas, Staple's Inn
 Hudson Thomas, Gent. Staple's
 Inn
 Hudson Charles George, Staple's,
 Inn
 Hughes John, Wapping
 Humphrey Robert, Barking
 Humphrey Thomas, Chiswick
 Humphreys Roger, Blackwall,
 Stepney
 Humpton Hugh, Burr Street, Wap-
 ping
 Hunt James, Hermitage Bridge
 Hunt Samuel, Nightingale Lane,
 Wapping
 Hunt Charles, Percy Street
 Hunt Samuel, Broad Street
 Hunt Thomas, Whetstone
 Huffle William, Percy Street
 Hutchings George, Sherbourne
 Hutchins

Hutchins James, Kenfington
Hyde William, Lion's Inn

I

Jacobs George, Lowlayton, Essex
Jacobs William, Mortlake, Surry
Jackson John, Mary le bon
James Hugh, Fleet Street
James Richard, Igham Street
James Richard, Shadwell
Jaques John, Chelsea
Jarvis Samuel, Snow-hill
Jeeves William, Strand
Jeffery William, Wapping
Jerman Lambert, Uxbridge
Jermyn George, Hackney Road
Jesse Richard, Carpenter, Piccadilly
Jessop George, Brentford
Ilett Thomas, Thames Street
Inman Samuel, West Smithfield
Innes James, Chelsea
Impey Elijah, Essex Street, Strand
Impey Michael, Hammersmith
Johnson William, St. James's Clerkenwell
Johnson Richard, Sunbury
Johnson Hans, Newmarket Street, Wapping
Johnson William, Old Gravel Lane
Jones John, Gent. Chelsea
Jones Elias, James Street, St. Luke's
Jones Giles, Villar's Street
Jones John, Cranbourn Alley
Jones Thomas, Wentworth Street, Whitechapel
Jones Ellis, Carey Street
Jones Job, Old Gravel Lane
Jones Evans, Enfield
Jones James, Rope-maker's-fields, Limehouse
Jones Thomas, Round Court
Jones Jenkins, Old Gravel Lane
Jones Francis, Bailey's-place
Jones Rowland, Hamilton Street
Jones Thomas, Staples Inn
Jones Edward, Purpool Lane
Jopkins John, Doctor's Commous
Jordain Edmund, Stanwell
Jackson James, Mile End old town
Jordan William, Piccadilly
Jordan Jonathan, Bethnal Green
Jordan James, Chelsea

Ireland Samuel, Spitalfields
Ilherwood Henry, New Windsor
Ivery William, Chipping Barnet
Ivory William, Stanwell
Ivory Richard, St. John's Street
Jullian John, Watch Maker, New Brentford
Justice William Martin, old Change No. 45

K

Kaines Henry, Limehouse
Kaygill Thomas, King Street, Drury Lane
Kaygill William, Off-Alley, Strand
Kealer Thomas, Blackwall
Keate Francis, Dean st. St. Street,
Keatfield William, Bethnal Green
Kebbell Moses, Whitechapel
Keep John, Ratcliff-crofs
Keightly Thomas, Lowlayton
Keightley George, Broad Street, Westminster
Kemp John, Clerkenwell
Kendall Edward, Isleworth
Kent George, Teddington
Kentish John, Cornhill
Kettel Thomas, Penitent Street
Kewes William, Walham Green
Kilby Samuel, King Street, Saint Giles's
Kilgeour Tuke, Hillingdon
Kinchin John, Barking Dog Row, Moorfields
King William, Cow-crofs
King Thomas, Tottenham
King Charles, Camberwell
King Thomas Sclater, Devonshire Street; Queen Square
King Thomas, Shepperton
King William, Cow-crofs
King George, St. James's Clerkenwell
King John, St. Giles's
King John, Sunbury
Kirk Peter, Fufham
Kirk Richard, Hadley
Kitchen Henry, Drury Lane
Knowles John, Whitecross-street
Keene John, Sunbury
Kent William, Stanwell

Lacey

L

Lacey Charles, Great Turnstile
 Lake James, Monmouth Street
 Lambert Ralph, Doctors Commons
 Lamb John, Whitechapel
 Lambert Richard, ———
 Landon John, Spitalfields
 Lane Raymond, Brick Lane, Spital-fields
 Larchin Sewallis, Chelsea
 Latham William, Clement's Lane
 Law Thomas, Austin Fryers
 Lawrence Samuel, Shadwell
 Laws Andrew, Ashford, Middlesex
 Lawton Francis, Holborn
 Lawton Christopher, Fetter lane
 Layton Thomas, Sunbury
 Lea Joseph, Goswell st.
 Leach Dryden, Crane court, Fleet street
 Leach Edward, Kenfington
 Leachman Thomas, Bethnal green
 Leaper Joseph, Bishopsgate st.
 Leathes David, George st. Han. square
 Leaton John, Mint in the Borough
 Leeton James, Broad Sanctuary
 Lee John, Lincoln's inn
 Lefevre John, Bromley
 Lefevre Peter, ditto
 Legg Leaver, Cornhill
 Leigh Gerard, Doctors commons
 Lefley Samuel, Saffron hill
 Levens William, Dulwich
 Lewis Joseph, Rumsford, Essex
 Lewis Israel, Maidstone, Kent
 Lewis Robert, Berkhemstead, Hert.
 Lewis Thomas, Piccadilly
 Lewis David, Shoreditch
 Lima Sebastian, Billingsgate
 Linebear Joseph, New inn
 Lion Stephen, Southgate, Edmon-ton
 Linnet Robert, Isleworth
 Lock William, Newport street
 Locker Joseph, Peckham, Surry
 London Thomas, New Brentford
 Long Walter, Lincoln's inn
 Long Walter, Cow cross

Longden Samuel, York buildings
 Longust Thomas, Rotherhithe
 Loubier John, Primrose street
 Loubier John, Bishopsgate street
 Loughton John, Iver heath, Bucks
 Love Benjamin, Fulham
 Lovett Richard, Fulham
 Low Richard, Lincoln's inn, Old buildings
 Lowe Edward, Ratcliffe row, old street
 Lowrey Edward, Hampton
 Lloyd Robert, Wapping
 Lloyd John, St. Matt. Bethnal green
 Lloy Thomas, James str. Bedford row
 Lucas Samuel, Skinner street
 Ludlam Thomas, Hammerton
 Lumley Richard, Bell yard, Temple bar
 Lutwiche William, Lombard str.
 Lycett Joseph, Golden square
 Lynch Isaac, Holyford, Sunbury
 Lyne Michael, Hounslow
 Lyon John, Bell lane, Paddington

M.

Mabbot John, Limehouse
 Mace James, St. Marg. Westm.
 Mackay Robert, Hackney
 Maddock Nathaniel, Aldgate high street
 Maddock Richard, Rosemary lane
 Maddock Richard, Stanmore
 Maddox William, Peter st. Westm.
 Maddox Erasmus, jun. Greenwich
 Maen Robert, Church row, Hampstead
 Maile Richard, St. Mary le bon
 Malborne Micah, Shadwell
 Mallard Peter, Wapping
 Mallett Philip, Mark lane
 Mallison Isaac, Love lane
 Mann Edward, Poplar
 Mann John, Chelsea
 Manning Robert, Hackney
 Marc Thomas, Oxford road
 March John, Sun tavern fields
 Margetson James, Clement's inn
 Markham

Markham John, Whitecross street
 Marlam Archive, Greenford
 Marlton John, Panton street
 Marriot Humphrey, Inner temple
 Marth John, Bartholomew close
 Marth John, Twickenham
 Marshall Wm. New Brentford
 Mallot Jos. ditto
 Marshall James, Monmouth street
 Marshall John, Stratford by Bow
 Martin Thomas, Princes st. Caven-
 dish square
 Martin John, Pater noster row
 Martin Joseph, Twickenham
 Martin Richard, St. John's street,
 Wapping
 Martin Daniel, ditto
 Mafon John, Peter st. Clerkenwell
 Mafon Robert, St. Martin's lane
 Master Legh, Kingston
 Matthews John, Dartmouth row
 Matthews John, Virginia street
 Mattson Thomas, Aldgate high st.
 Mattingly John, Poplar
 Mawby Nathan, Shepperton
 Maynard Robert, Rosemary lane
 Maynard Ben. Waltham abbey
 Maxey John, Moorfields
 Maxwell John, Colnbrook, Bucks
 Meard John, Chiswick
 Meare William, Lincoln's inn
 Mecham Sam, Thomas st. Whitech.
 Medley Joseph, Poplar
 Meeres John, Wokingham, Bucks
 Mellish William, Staples inn
 Menetone James, Shadwell
 Merchant John, Teddington
 Meredith Richard, Old street
 Meriton Charles, Staining lane
 Merryman John, Aldersgate Bars
 Messingham John, Derby court,
 Westminster
 Mettayer Samuel, Pall mall
 Middleditch Love, Shoreditch
 Milburne Edward, Strand
 Miller Joseph, Broad st. Wapping
 Milliard John, Uxbridge
 Millar Wm. Islington
 Mills George, Leather lane
 Mince Wm. Hadley

Mincer Charles, Strand
 Mitchell John, Parliament street
 Mitten Edmund, Hadley
 Mitton Thomas, Great wild street,
 Lincoln's inn fields
 Moffet George, London street
 Moody John, New Pye street
 Morehouse Robert, Oxford street
 Morgan David, Kingsgate street
 Morgan Charles, Holborn
 Morris Benjamin, Richmond street
 Morris John, King's row, Chelsea
 Morris Robert, Lincoln's inn
 Morris George, Chelsea
 Morris Richard, Hoxton square
 Morrison Richard, Hoxton square
 Morrison Samuel, St. Anne's lane,
 Westminster
 Morfe Leonard, Barnaby street
 Moss John, Shoreditch
 Motley James, Botolph lane
 Motley Charles, Lower Thames st.
 Moulton Charles, Broad st. Wapping
 Mounchfield Jesse, St. Clement
 Danes
 Munday Michael, Marybone street,
 St. James's
 Murray Alexander, Hanover square
 Murry James, Gr. Portland street
 Murrell Richard, Green dragon
 yard, Holborn

N.

Napper Charles, Old street square
 Nash Thomas, Sherrick green
 Needs Thomas, great Queen street
 Nelson Henry, Southampton court
 Nesbitt William, Limehouse
 Nethercote Henry, Deptford
 Nettleford Thomas, Twickenham
 Neville Titus, Ridge, Herts
 Newcombe Richard, Poplar
 Newell George, Stratford
 Newman John, Ratcliff cross
 Newman John, Coverly's fields,
 St. George in the east
 Newman Thomas, Shoreditch
 Newman Joseph, Hammersmith
 Newnham George Lewis, Esq; Lin-
 coln's inn

Newton

Newton Samuel, Mile end old town
 Newton William, Green walk,
 Christ church
 Newton William, Stanwell
 Nicholas Edward Hayes
 Nicholls William, Inner temple
 Nicholson John, Turnmill street
 Nichols William, Hicknam
 Night Joshua, Chelsea
 Nixon John, Mile end green
 Norcut Richard, old Gravel lane
 Norris John, Gun dock, Wapping
 Northmore Thomas, Chelsea
 Norton James, Pinner, parish of
 Harrow
 Nortier Isaac, Bethnal green
 Nourse James, Bedford street, Co-
 vent garden

O.

Odell Silvanus, Surry
 Odes Henry, Watling street
 Ogden John, Limehouse
 Okes John, St. Martin's lane
 Old Robert, old Gravel lane
 Older Richard, Twickenham
 Omer Roger, Deptford
 Orridge George, Stratford green
 Essex
 Osborne John, St. Alban's, Herts
 Osborne William, Snow hill
 Ostliffe John, Enfield
 Oulton Richard, St. James's street
 Owens John, Mark lane
 Oxley William, Ratcliff highway

P.

Packer Richard, Middle Moorfields
 Packer Samuel, Agmondefham,
 Bucks
 Page Samuel, Risslip
 Page Daniel, Stanwell
 Paillet Melchier, Bishopsgate street
 Paillet George, ditto
 Palmer Richard, Clerkenwell
 Palmer John, Staple's inn
 Parfett William, Twickenham
 Parker William, St. John's street
 Parker Paul, little Drury lane

Parkinson James, Church lane,
 Chelsea
 Panton Richard, Barbican
 Parnell Charles, Aldgate
 Parsons William, Cornhill
 Parsons John, Grays inn lane
 Parrot William, Carnaby market
 Parrot John, Whitecross street
 Parrot Robert, Savoy
 Parrey William, great Russel street
 Bloomsbury
 Parry John, Deptford
 Parry John, Lincoln's inn
 Parsons William, gent. Gray's inn
 Passal John, Islington
 Pateman Thomas, Long alley
 Moorfields
 Payne William, Golden lane, St.
 Luke's
 Payne Simon, Staines
 Peachy James, Queen street, Gol-
 den square
 Pearse Benjamin, Coleman street
 Pearse Thomas, Edmonton
 Pearson John, Wardour street
 Peirce Joseph, Upper ground,
 Southwark
 Peillet Clement, St. Margaret's hill
 Borough
 Peneyrad William, Red cross street
 Penny John, Coleman street
 Perch William, Virginia street
 Percy Hugh, Black's fields
 Peck Floyd, Broxburn, Herts
 Percival Edward, Cheapside
 Perrot John, Rathbone place
 Perry Henry, Limehouse
 Perry Richard, Dulwich
 Perry John, Hatton garden
 Pert Ferdinand, Holborn
 Perkins Thomas, Islington
 Perkins William, Rotherhithe
 Petty John, Hanway yard
 Peyton Abel, West Smithfield
 Phelps John, Fulham
 Phillips John, Ratcliff highway
 Phillips John, Poplar
 Phillips John, Enfield
 Phillips Francis, Queen street West-
 minster

Philip.

Philp Richard, Harlington
 Pike Thomas, Red lion str. Wap-
 ping
 Pine John, Ratcliff highway
 Pilgrim Thomas, Enfield high-
 way
 Pittan Nathaniel, Highgate
 Pitt James, Swallow street
 Pitt Stephen, Cambden house,
 Kenfington
 Piper John, Sunbury
 Plack Henry, Teddington
 Pocock Joseph, Shoreditch
 Podd William, Sunbury
 Podmore Arthur, Rotherhithe
 Pope Edward, Short's gardens
 Popham John, New inn
 Poole William, Blue Anchor alley
 Portman Richard, Kingston
 Pott Thomas, Stanwell
 Pott Thomas, ditto
 Poulton Giles, Isleworth
 Poulton Thomas, jun. ditto
 Powell Richard, Titchfield street
 Powell William, Cannon street, St.
 Martin's lane
 Pownal Thomas, James street, Co-
 vent garden
 Pool William, Cheapside
 Prat William, Evesham, Worces-
 tershire
 Pratt John, Brook's mews
 Preston Abraham, St. Martin's lane
 Price Lifcombe, Islington
 Price John, Compton street, Soho
 Price Robert, Old street
 Price Michael Francis, Kennington
 lane, Surry
 Price Meredith, Castle yard
 Price Thomas, Whitechapel
 Price William, Southall
 Price Samuel, Devereux court
 Strand
 Prichard John, New Brentford
 Prior Joseph Fortee, Old str. square
 Prior Edward, Butcher row, St. Cle-
 ments
 Prior Thomas, Marlborough court,
 Carnaby market
 Pryer Samuel, Strand

Pritchard Robert, Whitechapel
 Prosser Richard, Enfield chafe
 Puffert Richard, Haleford, near
 Sunbury
 Purlivent Samuel, Lincolns inn
 Pullen Edward, Shadwell
 Puller George, Cranbourn alley
 Pylon Peter Nicholas, St. Mary axe
 Quincey Robert, Southwark

R.

Radcliff John, New inn
 Ramsay John, Green bank, Wap-
 ping
 Randall Richard, Dulwich college
 Ransom Griffin, Palace yard, Westm.
 Rapley Jeremiah, Portland street
 Ray William, Bluegate fields, Rat-
 cliffe highway
 Redhead William, Mile End old
 town
 Redhead Nathaniel, Chancery lane
 Redhead Francis, Mile end, new
 town
 Redwood Robert, Duke str. Spital-
 fields
 Read William, Whitechapel high
 street
 Read Alexander, Harvey's buildings
 Read Jas. Three colt street, Limeh.
 Read Paul, Middlesex court, Drury
 lane
 Read Henry, Chapel str. Westm.
 Reaves Samuel, Ratcliffe
 Ray John, St. George's in the east
 Reed Isaac, Staples inn
 Remnant Richard, Sr. Giles's
 Remnant William, Walton upon
 Thames
 Rent George, Teddington
 Reynolds Benjamin, Charlotte str.
 Pancras
 Reynolds Edward, St. James's str.
 Reynolds Thomas, Moorfields
 Ride Richard, Stanwell
 Ride John, Feltham
 Richards Bartholomew, St. James's
 Richards Edward, Highgate

Richard

- Richards John, Kenfington
 Richards George, Great Russell str.
 Richards Robert, Church st. Lime-
 house
 Richards William, Aldersgate str.
 Richardson Wm. Wormwood str.
 Richardson John, Mile End
 Richardson James, Old street
 Richardson Josiah, Temple
 Richardson Richard, Tryerning,
 Essex county
 Richardson Samuel, Staines
 Richardson William, ditto
 Richardson William, Salisbury co.
 Fleet street
 Rider George, Turnmill street
 Ridley Bartlett, Bunhill row
 Rider Frederick, Whitechapel
 Ridgeron John, Chertsey
 Riley Abraham, Hampton Wick
 Rimer John, Masham st. Westm.
 Rishook William, Teddington
 Rhodes Thomas, Limehouse
 Robison William, Milford lane
 Robinson Fenton, Turnham green
 Robinson James, St. George's,
 Newroad
 Robinson John, Bishopsgate street
 Robinson William, Leadenhall str.
 Roberts John, Pump court, Tem-
 ple
 Roberts Samuel, Staines
 Roberts William, Gutter lane,
 Cheapside
 Robert Richard, Finchley
 Roberts Roston, Fleet street
 Roberts Richard, Round court
 Roffe Wm. Kingston
 Rogers John, Charterhouse street
 Rook Edward, Salisbury court
 Rollins John, Enfield
 Rose John, Tottenham
 Rose Thomas, Bethnal green
 Roster Richard, Shoreditch
 Roswell Wm. Shepperton
 Roswell Wm. ditto
 Roswell Henry, ditto
 Rouse Richard, Hounslow
 Rout Wm. Enfield
 Rowe Wm. Bunhill row
 Rowls John, Kingston
 Royer Lewis, St. Martin's ch. yard
 Ryder Daniel, Whitecross street
 Russell John, Peckenham, Surry
 Russell George, Goodman's yard,
 Minories
 Russell Thomas, Vine st. Golden
 lane
 Russell Jesse, Cow cross
 Russell Moses, Long Acre
 Russell John, Black Fryers
 Russell John, Staines
 Russell Richard, Broad st. buildings
 Rutherford Wm. Whitechapel
 Rutter James, Felton

S.

- Sabberton Benjamin, Enfield
 Saleway Joseph, Deptford
 Saltonstall Thomas, Chapel st.
 Sanders John, Kingston, Surry
 Sanders Joseph, Finsbury
 Sanders Nat. Nightingale Lane
 Sanders Thomas, Rotherhithe
 Sarsfield James, King st.
 Savage Thomas, Clapham, Surry
 Sawbridge John Esq; New Barling-
 ton street
 Scarr John, Hoxton
 Scarlett Nathaniel, Rotherhithe
 Wall
 Scrafton Thomas, Tottenham court
 Road
 Scriven John, Fetter Lane
 Scott John, Fulham
 Scott Claudy, Whitechapel
 Scott Thomas, Acton
 Scott Robert, Chancery Lane
 Scolesfield Thomas, Charles street,
 Long Acre
 Seaborne Thomas, Ratcliff Cross
 Seaman John, Lincoln's Inn, Old
 Buildings
 Seagood John Old Swan Lane
 Sears Henry, Upper Harford
 Sebbon Walter, Illington
 Setcole John, Enfield
 Seveck Henry, Mount st.

Sewell Samuel, Shoreditch
 Seymour Richard, Cable st. Well-
 close square
 Sharpe Thomas, Trinity Minories
 Sharpe Benjamin, Gough square
 Sharpe William, Ropemakers fields
 Limehouse
 Sharpe William, Leather lane, Hol-
 born
 Sheldon John, Tottenham court
 Road,
 Sheldrake Timothy, Strand
 Shelton Christopher, St Ann's
 Limehouse
 Sheppard John, Carnaby market
 Sherborn John, Belfont
 Sherman Thomas, Shug lane
 Sherwin John, Deptford
 Sherwood George, New Inn
 Shield John, Illington
 Shirley John, Bird str. St. Botolph
 Shore William, Hanworth
 Shotten John, Chertsey
 Short Joseph, jun. Whitechapel high
 street
 Showell Thomas, Little Britain
 Shrimpes John Taverer, Cullum st.
 Sibley Joseph, St. John's street
 Sibley John, Wapping
 Symons Thomas, Thames Ditton
 Simkin Thomas, Chelsea
 Simpson Robert, Whitechapel
 Simpson Thomas, Clerkenwell
 Simpson Wm. Ratcliffe highway
 Simpson Wm. Whitechapel
 Simpson Henry, Shakespeare's
 walk, Shadwell
 Simmonds John, Shoreditch
 Singleton Chas. Argyle buildings
 Sison John, Shacklewell
 Skegg George, Enfield
 Skerritt George, Staines
 Skudder John, Hunton, Hert.
 Sky Samuel, Aldenham, Hert.
 Skyrme Francis, Low Haddon,
 Pembrokeshire
 Slade James, Hampton Wick
 Slaney Robert, Bedford court,
 Covent-Garden
 Smart Wm. Wapping wall
 Smeeton Wm. Wapping

Smith John, Uxbridge
 Smith Daniel, Old street
 Smith John, Illington
 Smith Thomas, Acton
 Smith Wm. Hampton Wick
 Smith John, Berwick street
 Smith Edward, Gunnersbury
 Smith Wm. Moorfields
 Smith Wm. Borough
 Smith Vastion, Strand
 Smith Benjamin, St. John's, Horf-
 lydown
 Smith Hilderdon, Edmonton
 Smith John, Leicester fields
 Smith Robert, Grange walk
 Smith John, Carnaby market
 Smith Wm. Oxford road
 Smyth Matthew, Grevile st. Hat-
 ton garden
 Snell Wm. Edmonton
 Snook Wm. Staines
 Snowdon John, Windsor
 Sowter John, Silver street
 South John, Hillingdon parish
 South Henry, ditto
 Southouse Samuel, Inner Temple
 Southby Richard, Bulfort, Wilts.
 Spencer Sam. Tottenham, co. road
 Spencer Nicholas, Burr street
 Spencer Wm. Goswell street
 Spenceley Allen, Illington
 Spiney Charles, Giltspur street,
 Smithfield
 Spranger John, Hart st. Bloomf-
 bury square
 Spratley John, Broad lane, Westm.
 Standow Thomas, Enfield
 Stanton Thomas, Hounslow
 Stanton Thomas, Longford, Midd.
 Start Robert, Ludgate hill
 Stedman James, Petty France
 Stephens John, Chislehurst
 Stephens John, Staines
 Stephenson Edward, Queen street
 Bloomsbury
 Stevens George, Hampton
 Stevens Wm. Staines
 Stevens Thomas, Duck lane
 gibbs Joseph, Burr street
 Style Thomas, Carlton

Stinifer

Sniffers Robert, Nightingale lane,
 Wapping
 Stoe George, Chiswick
 Stone Robert, Mile end
 Stone William, St. Catharine's
 Stone John, New Tothill str. Westm.
 Stone John, Newbury, Bucks
 Stone John, ditto
 Stone Wm. South st. Bloomsbury
 Storer John, Fenchurch street
 Stourton Matthew, Drury lane
 Strange William, Poplar
 Stratton Samuel, Bethnal green
 Street John, Colnbrook
 Stroud John, Hayes
 Stukey Wm. Lion's inn
 Stukley Wm. Maize pond, Southw.
 Spinceley Thomas, Holloway
 Stutfield Charles, Islington
 Stevens Richard, Hampton wick
 Sugg John, Bowling alley Westm.
 Sukring John, Whitechapel
 Sumner Richard, Bishopsgate st.
 Sutton Stint, Kingston upon Thames
 Sutton Edward, Oxford road
 Swaile John, Halliford near Sun-
 bury
 Swaile Robert, Little Windmill st.
 Swain John, Stanwell

T

Taber John, Charterhouse lane
 Tasker Sampson, Hermitage
 Tax John, North street, Westm.
 Taylor John, Leadenhall street
 Taylor John, Goswell street
 Taylor John, Poplar
 Taylor Joseph, Queen st. Golden sq.
 Teale James, Esq. Canterbury
 Tench John, Milford lane, St.
 Clements
 Terray Wm. Long ditch, Westm.
 Territt Wm. Brittol st. Bloomsbury
 Tefdal Wm. St. John's, Wapping
 Theobald Peter, Peter st. Blooms-
 bury
 Thomas Charles, Park st. Grosve-
 nor Square.
 Thomas Patience, Hatton Garden
 Vol. IV.

Thomas Charles, Bridge street
 Thomas John, St. James's street
 Thompson William Homer, Brick-
 street.
 Thompson James, Wapping street
 Thorne Daniel, Staines
 Thorp Charles, Lambeth
 Thorp Samuel, Richmond
 Tickener Benjamin, Archer street
 Tilley William, Moorfields
 Tillier Thomas, Hatton
 Tilney Thomas, Chiswell street
 Timmings Thomas, Brick Lane
 Tims Thomas, Isleworth
 Tipping Thomas, Old Brentford
 Tomkyns Packington, Hillingdon
 Tomlinson Robert, Throgmorton st.
 Tomlinson Thomas, Noel Street,
 Soho
 Toyrairie Charles, Broad-street, St.
 James
 Totton Stephen, Spital Square
 Totten Samuel, Chancery Lane
 Touchin Robert, Sun Yard, Ald-
 gate Parish
 Towers Shipman, Hornsey
 Townsend William, Staple's Inn
 Townesend James, Tottenham
 Treadway Thomas, Hounslow
 Treadway John, Phoenix Court,
 Newgate street
 Troutbich William, Holborn
 Tucker William, Bateman Row,
 Holywell street
 Trinder James, Bishopsgate street
 Trigg Robert, Shepperton
 Triquet James, Strand
 Trevellicque Ralph, Allen Court,
 Leadenhall street
 Trueman Benjamin, Brick Lane,
 Spitalfields
 Trundley Randat, Deptford
 Tucker Isaac, East-Smithfield
 Tudman Robert, Wapping
 Turbifield William, Chiswell street
 Turner Daniel, Lincoln's Inn fields
 Turner John, Limehouse
 Turner Joshua, St. Leonrad, Shore-
 ditch
 Tyler William, Havina's Parish Essex
 Vaux-

V

Vaughan Benjamin, Enfield
 Vaughan Charles, Bunhill Row
 Venham John, Cheshunt, Herts
 Vere Anthony, Maiden-lane, Covent Garden
 Vine Goodsons, Chigwell, Essex
 Vincome William, Rope-maker's fields, Limehouse
 Voss Nicholas, Drury Lane
 Unfreville William, Crane Court, Fleet-street
 Upsdale Thomas, Hackney Road
 Urquhart John, Meeting-house alley
 Urry Thomas, Isle of Wight

W

Wadbrook George, Kingston
 Wade Jeremiah Sherbut, Poplar
 Wade Thomas, Bluegate Fields, Shadwell
 Wall George, Great Russell street, Bloomsbury
 Waller Richard, Great Shire Lane
 Wallis Josiah, Wapping Wall
 Wallis James, High-street Southwark
 Wallis James, Whitechapel
 Walter Richard, Temple
 Waltham Daniel, Old Street
 Walton William, Poplar
 Watson Henry, Wych street, St. Clements
 Warcup John, Carey Street, Saint Clements
 Ward Henry, New Brentford
 Ward James, Great Russell street
 Wareing William, Gracechurch str.
 Warren Thomas, King's Langley, Herts.
 Warren Thomas, Purpool Lane
 Warr Joseph, Hillingdon
 Washington John, St. John's street
 Watkins Francis, Charing Cross
 Watson Abraham, Bury street, West.
 Watts William, Upper Thames str.
 Way Richard, Shire Lane
 Webb Edward, Hungerford market
 Webb Samuel, Grub street

Webster Ridley, Manning Red Lion Square
 Welby William, Red Lion Square
 Welch John, Hoxton
 West Elias, Deptford
 West Edward, Great Castle street, Oxford Market
 Westbrooke John, Heston
 Weston Richard, Aldgate High str.
 Wharton William, Limehouse
 Wheeler Groves, Richmond
 Whetton George, Hyde Park Road
 Whitehead George, Great Russell st.
 White Henry, Oxendon Street
 Whitefield Henry Fotherly, King street Drury Lane
 Whitehead Edmund, Hoxton
 Whitehead Abel, Hoxton Square
 Whitney James, St. Clement-dance
 Whitwell James, Marybone
 Wild James, Hammer Smith
 Wildman William, Ilington
 Whitehead Richard, Newgate market
 White Richard, Hounslow
 Whitwell William, Whitechapel Road
 Whitehurst John, Kingsland Road, Shoreditch
 Whitmore William, Shepperton
 Wiggins Matthew, Millbank West.
 Wiggon Thomas, East Sheen, Surrey
 Wilder William, Playhouse Yard
 Wilfield Richard Walter, Baginbun Court, Newgate street
 Wilkinson Joshua, Moorfields
 Wilkinson Thomas, Esq; St. Margaret's Hill
 Williams Thomas, Dulwich
 Williams Hugh, Fore street, Moorfields
 Williams Evan, Shoreditch
 Williams Walter, Acton
 Williams Thomas, Berkshire
 Williams William, Temple Bar
 Williams John, White Cross street
 Williamson Joseph, Clifford's Inn
 Willie John, Cloth Fair
 Willis Robert, Ilington

Willis

- Willis Richard, Chipping Ongar, Essex
 Willis John, White Chapel
 Willis Thomas, Horn Tavern, Doctor's Commons
 Willy John, Drury Lane
 Wilmot Henry, Hornsey
 Wilmot John, Tottenham High Cross
 Wilmot Robert, Drury Lane
 Wilsford Fardon, Hamlet Poplar
 Wilson John, Jun. Carey Street
 Wilson William, Hexton Square
 Wilson John, Sen. Cary street, St. Clement's
 Wilson John, Mailman's Row, Bedford street
 Wilson Thomas, New Brentford
 Winbura Rowland, Essex street
 Winch Thomas, Colnbrook
 Winchley Thomas, Essex c. No. 4
 Windle Thomas, Bethnal Green
 Wincuffe Robert, Ealing
 Wincuffe Nathaniel, New Brentford
 Windlebury, — Aldermanbury
 Windsor Richard, Staines
 Wingfield James, Brewer street, Golden Square
 Wingfield William, Heston, Middlesex
 Winter Ralph, Birch-hanger, Essex
 Winter Richard, New Crane Brewhouse
 Winter John, Chiswell str. Moorfields
 Wire Robert, St. John's Square, Clerkenwell
 Witton James, Allen street, Clerkenwell
 Wood Robert, Long Acre
 Wood Alexander, Conduit street
 Wood John, St. James's, near 80th
 Wood John, George str. Wetton.
 Wood John, Fishmonger's alley Southwark
 Wood Thomas, Chequer Alley, Bunhill Row
 Woodfield Samuel, Griffin street
 Woodman Robert, Wapping
 Woodman Henry, Strand on the Green
 Woodcock Charles, New Brentford
 Woodcock Richard, Poplar
 Woods William, Brentford
 Woodward William, Finchley
 Woodward Thomas, Piccadilly
 Wooldray Wm, Newgate market
 Woolsey James, Holt square
 Woolley Richard, Hatton Garden
 Worlidge Edward, Milbank West.
 Woolveridge John, Bethnal Green
 Worm James, Bnfield
 Wotton William, Water lane, Fleet Street
 Wootton Thomas, Old Gravel land
 Wrench John, White Cross street
 Wrigglesworth Thomas, Ripley, in Kent
 Wright Thomas, Mile End
 Wright William, Queenhithe
 Wright William, Brook str. Holborn
 Wright Benjamin, Hackney
 Wright Richard, Moorfields
 Wykes Henry, Snow Hill
 Wynne Edward, Middle Temple Y
 Yeman Sherwood, Stepney
 York William, Fleet street
 York Richard, Ratcliff Highway

Papers relative to the Middlesex Election continued from page 84.

To Sir William Beauchamp Proctor, K. B. &c.

DID you, or did you not, hire, or by your consent permit to be hired, by persons appointed for that purpose, a gang of fellows who were armed with bludgeons, to go to Brentford on the morning of the election?

At Mr. Wilkes's election, which you attended, and which you know was perfectly peaceable, although several more thousand spectators were there, than at any election before or since, you had there no Irish banditti, hired under an idle, a foolish, an insane, a ridiculous pretence of keeping the peace; why, therefore, had you such a gang of ruffians now? Were they likely to *keep* the peace, or *more* likely to break it?

I will now give you and the public two plain facts. About nine o'clock last Thursday morning, the first day of the present election, the Naylor (the fighting Naylor) was seen in your house in Bruton-street, talking with your servants, at the foot of the stairs; and he was afterwards seen at Brentford, a little before the signal was given for beginning the barbarous and bloody riot there.

When the gang of villains, with *Proctor and Liberty* in their hats, had drove away Mr. Glynn's friends from about the hustings, and hurra'd you, when a certain gentleman compelled you to shew yourself to them, that he might escape that bloody-minded gang, entered the hustings, and with one voice, cried; *if there are any of Glynn's people here, we will level them.*

Both these facts can be attested upon oath; and the writer of this short paper, has left his name and residence with the printer, that you may not make a feigned complaint of anonymous ill treatment.

It is presumed, that, supported as you are, by the venal crew of placemen and pensioners, you dare not convey, nor cause to be conveyed, another hired banditti of ruffians to Brentford to-morrow; and therefore it is not doubted, that the remainder of the poll will be carried on in perfect peace and harmony.

*A Freeholder of Middlesex,
Herts, Surry, and Lancashire.*

Q U E R I E S.

1. DID not Sir W. B. P. by himself, or his agents, hire a number of persons to go to Brentford, on Thursday last, in his behalf?

2. Did he not know they were to be paid for their attendance; that they were chairmen, brick-makers, and rabble; or, at least, that they were not freeholders of the county of Middlesex?

3. Did he not know, that however frequent the practice of hiring mobs on such occasions may be, that it is contrary to the known laws of the land, totally subversive of the *Liberties of Englishmen*, and the *freedom of elections*?

Sir William informs us, that no one "shall receive, directly or indirectly, from him, the WAGES of INIQUITY."—I believe him—the wages of iniquity, is death; and, I trust, that the dispensers of justice in this land, will see that the actors of iniquity shall receive their reward to the uttermost mite.

AN ENGLISHMAN.

To

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of
MIDDLESEX.

THE unconstitutional and outrageous proceedings at Brentford, on Thursday, cannot but rouse the indignation of every honest man, of whatever party he may be: such proceedings strike at once at the very foundation of our constitution, and threaten us (not with the gradual decay of it, which would be the slow, but sure, effect of ministerial influence and corruption) but with the sudden and total overthrow of our liberties, by a degree of violence and outrage, unparalleled in the worst of times. It has long been obvious, that the only remains of our ancient constitutional representation, the only shadow of a free election, which is left to this unhappy country, is in the freeholders of the different counties; nothing, therefore, can be more alarming, than the attempts which have been made to rob them of their sacred and invaluable rights, by the most contemptible chicane, the most corrupt bribery, and the most unconstitutional exertions of power and influence, which any age or country has produced. Every man's recollection will furnish him with recent instances of this nature; and some of them are now before a tribunal, where we cannot, must not, doubt but justice will be done. But the glory of overleaping all former bounds, which even the most flagitious candidates, and their supporters, had set themselves, have been reserved for a candidate for the county of Middlesex, and his friends: he alone has dared totally to throw off the mask, and to make an avowed attack, by open violence, upon the rights and privileges of the county, which he expects to represent; after every means that could be used by the whole power of administration, and by his own numerous friends, had proved ineffectual; after public and private treasures had been in vain expended to obtain a majority in this most incorrupt and respectable county, he alone, with the true spirit of a Cataline, has found out, that there was still one means left untried by any former candidate, and that the best way to secure a majority, was to massacre all those who dared to oppose him.

By the horrid scene which has been exhibited at Brentford, the state of the Middlesex election is wholly changed: the question is not now, whether Serjeant Glynn or Sir William Proctor shall represent the county? but whether any county shall be represented at all; or whether the people of England in general, and of Middlesex in particular, shall be freemen or slaves? Should Sir William Proctor now succeed in his election, it will be like the election of the Norman Conqueror, who was chosen at the head of a victorious army. Should you tamely submit; or be intimidated by these measures, there is an end of the liberty of England. In this critical juncture, the eyes of the whole kingdom will be turned with anxiety on you, as the assertors of their liberties. It is therefore incumbent on

on you all, on this great, this alarming occasion, to act with a spirit and resolution becoming you, as men, as Englishmen, and as freeholders of Middlesex. But at the same time that you should act with the most undaunted firmness, it is also your duty and your interest to act with coolness, prudence, and a perfect submission to the laws. Any breach of the peace, or infringement of the laws, on your part, would entirely throw away the advantage your opponents have given you, by their illegal and outrageous conduct, and put you on a footing with them.

The only means, therefore, by which you can effectually assert your rights and liberties, is by a firm and steady support of the injured candidate; and an early, decent, and quiet attendance on his behalf on MONDAY; preserving a disposition, neither to be provoked by insults or injuries, to do any thing illegal, nor deterred by threats or danger from fulfilling your duty, and voting according to your conscience.

You may the more easily observe this conduct, from the assurance, that your honest indignation will be gratified by the most exemplary punishment of the authors of these outrages, as the injured candidate is a man of too much resolution, and supported by too numerous and spirited a body of the freeholders, not to prosecute such offenders with the utmost rigour of the law.

A FREEHOLDER.

ADVERTISEMENT.

MR. Serjeant Glynn requests all persons who can give any information or intelligence concerning the riots at Brentford, on Thursday the 8th day of this instant December, to deliver in the same to Mr. Charles Martyn, attorney, in St. Martin's-street, Leicester-fields.

And whereas information has been given, that certain persons, who died of wounds and bruises, received from the rioters at Brentford, have been buried without inquisition taken before a coroner as the law directs; all persons concerned in such burial, or acquainted therewith, are desired to give intelligence thereof to the said Mr. Martyn.

*** Information on oath having been made before Sir John Fielding, Knt. one of his Majesty's justices of the peace for the county of Middlesex, against Owen Byrne, alias Jack Burn, Frank Toole, — Kelly, and — Ball, all Irish chairmen, as having been principally concerned in the abovementioned riots; I do hereby promise to pay a reward of Twenty Guineas on the apprehension of each of the said offenders.

St. Martin's-street,

CHA. MARTYN.

Dec. 23.

To

TO SIR WILLIAM BEAUCHAMP PROCTOR.

SIR,

I HAVE addressed you as a gentleman, and sorry I am that your behaviour since has obliged me to change my treatment of you, and to use you with as little respect as your conduct has rendered due to you.

I own (what I am now ashamed of) that I have twice given you my vote, and that I intended to do so a third time, if you cleared yourself of the villainy laid to your charge: this you well knew was not in your power, and therefore gave a *single* proof of wisdom and honesty in not attempting it.

I went, however, to Brentford, undetermined, in a great degree, to whom I should give my voice; and as I was too much dissatisfied with you, to wish you might be elected, and not well enough convinced of the justice of your opponent's pretences to serve him, I resolved to observe the conduct of both candidates, and be guided in my choice by their behaviour,—which I will endeavour to state with candour, to the public and you.

When Mr. Serjeant Glynn mounted the hustings, I confess his cheerful modesty of countenance prepossessed me in his favour: your countenance, Sir William, betrayed too visibly the state of your mind: I then imputed your dejection only to your doubt of success—little did I, at that time, conceive the real cause. The fulsome folly of justice Clitheroe's speech at your nomination, disgusted me; Mr. Townshend's manner of nominating Mr. Serjeant Glynn, did equal honour to that candidate and himself.

In the course of the poll, Mr. Glynn became my favourite: his decision against himself, his politeness to all present, and his readiness to coincide with every measure wished or proposed, convinced me that he should be the man of my choice.

But how shall I compare the candidates in what followed?—Shall I not affront Mr. Serjeant Glynn, by ranking you together? Indeed nothing but the necessity of doing it, for the sake of the contrast, can justify me,—for I know not the man, Sir William, that it would not now degrade to rank with you.

When that horrid carnage, that scene of cruelty and bloodshed, commenced, and when your blood-hounds, Sir William, were let loose on the innocent and unarmed electors and spectators, the noble Serjeant, with a truly British spirit, called on you to stand forth, and face your hireling banditti: "Ask them, Sir William, to whom they belong; if they belong to me, they shall protect you,—if to you, I will take my chance." But you sneaked away; nor could his repeated applications prevail on you to stay one moment; nor do I wonder at your flight,—for fear is ever the companion of guilt.

When this business was this day to be agitated in the house of commons, the Serjeant, conscious of the honesty of his cause, attended,

tended, and desired to be called in; you did not, you could not appear, though *your worthy friend*, Mr. Galliard, was repeatedly pressed by Mr. Glynn to fend for you, and declared he had done so.

Yet, after all that has passed, you still dare solicit the freeholders of Middlesex for their votes, and tell them, you hope to be their representative.—Can you believe the freeholders of Middlesex who have already spurned you for inability, inconsistency, and disregard to the interest of your country, will now suffer you to carry your election by storm, and chuse you, because they have discovered that you are possessed of the same virtues as distinguished the mob-leaders, Riley, Owen Burn, and Edward M'Quirk?

Be not deceived—You are at this instant the most despised and execrated of all human beings; those who once treated you with some kindness, because they considered you as a negative character, having now seen your activity, give you up for ever; and the only best advice your relations can give you, is, to retire into some country, where the history of this bloody catastrophe is unknown, and where you may again hope to pass for a man who can do no harm.

I have done with you for this time, Sir William, though I shall have frequent occasion to call on you; nor do I fear your wrath, notwithstanding I subscribe myself

Dec. 10, 1768.

PACIFICUS.

MY last letter was addressed to Sir William Beauchamp Proctor, and perhaps the same direction might be very proper for this, but I chuse rather to be more general in my application, and to dedicate this *to all whom it may concern*.

In Mr. Serjeant Glynn's noble address to the freeholders of Middlesex, immediately after the horrid scene which was the subject of my last letter, he pledges himself, that the blood so wantonly shed at Brentford, should be vindicated, and the charge brought home to the hired and the hirers: the eyes of the whole nation are upon him for a performance of this engagement; and as I was induced to embark in his cause, merely from a conviction of his worthiness, so that I might still be able to justify my conduct to myself, I have carefully attended to the proceedings of him, his friends and agents, since the blood stained 8th of December, and I will now impartially state to the public the result of my observation.

I find, that on the very night following that memorable day, a few friends of Mr. Glynn's apprehended two chairmen, Lawrence Balf and Edward Mac Quirk, on the information of gentlemen of undoubted credit, who charged them on oath, with having been extremely active in the outrages committed the preceding day; on this information they stood committed.

An inquisition having been taken the 15th of December, before the coroner for Middlesex, on the body of George Clark; and it
appearing

appearing to the jury, (from the depositions of several witnesses) that the said George Clark's death was occasioned by a blow or blows, received at the polling place at Brentford, from the rioters there, the jury brought in their verdict wilful murder in persons unknown; and the said Balf and Mac Quirk being proved to have been among those rioters, a further charge was brought against them, and they were detained on violent suspicion of murder.

On Wednesday the 28th, they were brought up before Sir John Fielding for further examination, when Mr. Clay, the high constable of Holborn division, positively swore to Mac Quirk as one of the most busy of the ruffians, and particularly charged him with having assaulted Mr. Clay himself.—Mr. Lucas, a counsel, and one Mr. Denton, an attorney, now appeared at Sir John Fielding's, and very industriously strove to have these men admitted to bail; but Sir John Fielding, and other magistrates present, refused it, and they were remanded to prison. notwithstanding the counsel declared *they had bail ready to any amount.*

It was not long ago, that *bail to any amount was ready* for a person charged with a similar crime; and if I am not mistaken, it has been since publicly avowed, that that person was supplied with the public money for his defence.

I am just now informed, that notice has been given that an habeas corpus is obtained, to bring these men before a judge, and that bail will be there tendered for them.

I think the monies on recognizances of this kind, if forfeited, are payable into the exchequer; where a little interest will serve to lower sums of 100l. to 6s. 8d.—No very heavy expence to avoid a trial for murder.

A coroner's inquest having been yesterday had on the body of one Andrew Thomas, who, as appears by the verdict of the jury, was killed by accident in London, on the 8th of December, the same counsel and attorney attended; but on whose behalf, at whose expence, or on what account, remains yet to be explained.

On the 23d instant appeared an advertisement from Mr. Serjeant Glynn, requesting all persons who could give any information concerning the riots at Brentford, or any accounts of the burial of any persons who might have died of wounds received there, and been buried without a coroner's inquest, to deliver in the same to his attorney; and the attorney also promises a large reward on the apprehension of several persons therein named, as being principally concerned in the said riots.—I am also well assured, that the same attorney has re-

ceived instructions to prosecute many other persons who were aiding in, or abetting the riots.

From the above then it plainly appears, that Mr. Serjeant Glynn is faithfully performing his promise, by a vigorous pursuit of justice. I will now turn my attention to Sir William Beauchamp Proctor's advertisement of the 10th of December, and the subsequent conduct of him, his friends and agents.

In that advertisement, Sir William Beauchamp Proctor tells the freeholders of this county, that he, as well as the Serjeant, has survived the dangers of *that day*, (the 8th) and promises that it shall be to as good purposes as that Gentleman can *assume*. "It shall be, says he, to bring this dark transaction into open day-light, and to shew the world, *who has been the man of blood*."

Will Sir William Beauchamp Proctor be so good as to inform the public, how he has fulfilled his promises? Has he apprehended, or procured to be apprehended, a single person, charged with being concerned in these unparalleled cruelties? Has he published any advertisement for information? Has he offered any reward for the apprehension of any one offender? Has he procured a single information on oath, of or against any one rioter?—I will tell the public what part of his engagement he has performed: he has indeed shewn the world *who has been the man of blood*.

I now leave this fair state of facts on both sides, to public judgment; and will only add a promise, to submit all future proceedings to the same tribunal with the like candour and impartiality.

PACIFICUS.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

An account of the Trial of Lawrence Balfie, and Edward M'Quirk,

ON Saturday the 14th of January, came on at the Old Baily, the trials of Lawrence Balfie, and Edward M'Quirk, for the murder of Mr. Clarke, at Brentford, when it evidently appeared, that one of them, named M'Quirk, was hired by one T——, an agent of lord ——, the very nobleman who issued the general warrant, and thereby first gave rise to jealousies and discontents, which for these five years past, have disturbed the peace of the kingdom. Was it not enough, that his lordship has already two prosecutions hanging over him for his breach of the laws? Must he likewise expose himself to the danger of a third? But this is not the first time that his lordship has employed rioters to controul the

the freedom of elections. He had tried the experiment at another election; and having done it in that case with the most perfect impunity, he thought he might do it again with the same degree of safety. For it further appeared during the course of the trial, that this very M'Quirk was hired by this very T——m, and doubtless by the command of the very same nobleman, at two guineas a week, and all necessaries found him, to go down to the last election at Northampton, where he is also said to have signalized himself by his acts of brutal violence.

It was proved, that the other rioter, Balse, was hired by B——, one of the ushers of the yeomen of the guards.

The three reverend judges, who presided at the trial, viz. Lord Chief Baron Parker, Mr. Justice Aston, and Mr. Justice Gould, behaved, all of them, with great candour and impartiality; discovering a propensity in favour of neither party, farther than as they were moved by a regard to justice, and an abhorrence of the crime, with which the prisoners stood charged.

The prisoners, indeed, had great reason to be satisfied with their counsel, consisting of Serjeant Davey, Serjeant Burland, Mr. Walker, Mr. Lucas, and Mr. Murphy; for never was a cause more ably and more artfully managed; and could they have been saved by eloquence and abilities, they must have been saved.

But the judges and the jury were too wise and too upright, to suffer themselves to be blinded or biased by the quibbles of the law, or the flowers of rhetoric.

The counsel for the prisoners particularly endeavoured to prove, or rather to insinuate,—for they could not produce the least shadow of proof,—that the rioters at Brentford belonged to Mr. Serjeant Glynn, and not to Sir William Beauchamp Proctor. But the counsel for the prosecution, consisting of Mr. Serjeant Leigh, Mr. Impey, and Mr. Adair, convinced of the falsity of this allegation, and considering, at the same time, the insidious design with which it was advanced, very prudently replied, that it was of no consequence to the merits of the cause to whom the rioters belonged: the only point to be decided was, whether the prisoners, Balse and M'Quirk, were part of the rioters who murdered Mr. Clarke; and as that was a fact confirmed by the clearest and most undoubted evidence, the conclusion was unavoidable; the prisoners were guilty of the crime laid to their charge.

The court were two hours in summing up the evidence, when the jury withdrew, and in about half an hour returned, bringing in their verdict, guilty, against both. The court de-

ferred passing sentence till Monday, when a motion was made by the prisoners counsel, for an arrest of judgment, which was heard, and overruled by the court, who sentenced them to be hanged, dissected, and anatomised, on the Wednesday following; the execution of the sentence was respited for a week, and a further respite has been since obtained.

With regard to the motion made by Serjeant Davey, for an arrest of judgment, it may be proper to inform the reader, that it was founded merely on a little irregularity upon the back of the bill of indictment, where the grand jury had put the words, "A true bill for *aiding* and *abetting*," which last words *aiding* and *abetting* should have been omitted, and were only crossed out with a pen, instead of being perfectly erased.

I have already said, that the counsel for the prisoners discovered, in general, great learning and eloquence in their pleadings. But justice obliges me to take particular notice of a capital stroke of the celebrated Mr. Murphy, who not only excelled all his brother barristers, but even out-did his own out-doings.

After the evidence had been summed up by Mr. Justice Gould, in a very masterly manner, Mr. Murphy said, he had a fresh evidence *in petto*, and desired he might be heard. The court observed, that such a practice was rather irregular; but as they were willing to show all kind of indulgence to the prisoners, they readily granted the request.

Accordingly the evidence was produced with great pomp and parade; and the expectation of the spectators, raised to the highest pitch; as it was natural to think, that a man seemingly reserved on purpose, and now brought forward at so unusual a time, would overturn the depositions of all the former witnesses. But what were the surprize and disappointment of the court, when, upon the first question put to this evidence by Mr. Justice Gould, the man very readily replied, that he was one of Broughton's gang? This scene was so truly ridiculous, that, notwithstanding the solemnity of the occasion, the spectators could not refrain from bursting into a loud laugh.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

THE meeting of the freeholders of Middlesex, on Thursday the 12th inst. being a transaction which, both from the nature of the meeting itself and the resolutions passed at it, highly concern the publick, it is proper that the electors of members of parliament throughout the whole kingdom should,

should, as early as possible, be informed of the general grounds upon which the gentlemen present at that meeting acted, and upon which the different heads of instruction, agreed by them to be presented to their members, were founded, in order to induce such other counties and boroughs as approve of it, to follow the example of the county of Middlesex.

The commons of this realm are, and ever have been, an essential branch of the supreme legislative power, not only by the right unalienably vested in the people of all nations by the laws of God and nature, but by the ancient established constitution of this happy country. But though the power of legislation (antecedent to the establishment of any particular form of government) was originally vested in, and must ever be considered as ultimately derived from, the people at large, yet the actual exercise of it (being found inconvenient, and inadequate to the purposes of government, when dispersed in so many hands) has, by the same ancient constitution of this kingdom, been intrusted to the king, the lords, and a certain body of men chosen by, and from among, the commons, to act for them as their representatives in the great council of the nation.

When, therefore, the electors have delegated the exercise of the powers, and the protection of the rights inherent in them, to any persons, by electing them to serve as their representatives in parliament, it is their most undoubted legal and constitutional right, to instruct them from time to time, and at all times, in what manner, and for what purposes the powers and privileges derived to them from their constituents shall be exerted.

It was to exercise that right that the freeholders of Middlesex assembled on Thursday last. In what manner they have exercised it, will appear from a short consideration of the heads of instruction* which they have agreed upon.

The two instructions which relate to the transactions in St. George's fields, and at Brentford, require no comment. Those transactions have alarmed the fears, and excited the terror and indignation, not only of every lover of the constitution and liberties of his country, but of every man who has any regard to his own personal safety. It may, perhaps, be objected, and will not be denied, that the immediate actors in those outrages may, and that some of them actually have been, prosecuted in the ordinary course of law. But it is of still greater importance, that the secret advisers, promoters, and abettors of those measures, should be brought forth to the public view, and meet with the punishment they deserve; and

surely

* See Page 65.

surely no way can be so proper or so effectual for this purpose, as a strict parliamentary enquiry.

The instruction which relates to the magistracy of the county of Middlesex, is intimately connected with the two former, as nothing can more effectually guard against such outrages for the future, than a proper regulation of that part of the magistracy, which immediately respects the conservation of the peace. Had the important station of justices of the peace been always filled with such persons only, as would, with firmness and impartiality upon all occasions, have exerted the power entrusted to them by the laws, there never could have existed the least colour or pretence to call in a military force, or a hired mob to their assistance. Both the one and the other of these (being a kind of peace-officers, wholly unknown to the laws of this kingdom) would have been to such men, as unnecessary as they are unconstitutional. Licentiousness will seldom arise among the people under a vigorous and upright magistracy, and if it should, will by such be easily suppressed. That some men of character and conduct totally opposite to such, have obtained a share in the magistracy of the county of Middlesex, while others, whose rank, fortune, and character were unexceptionable, have been rejected, appears to be one principal cause, why this county, more than any other, has been of late infested with disorders, tumults and murders, for these reasons the freeholders recommended to their representatives an enquiry on that head, in order to promote such regulations in the magistracy of the kingdom in general, and of this county in particular, as might effectually secure respect and obedience to the constitutional authority of the *civil power*, without leaving a pretence of the necessity of calling in any foreign assistance.

The importance of the instruction relative to the trial by juries is obvious. A trial by our peers has ever been deservedly esteemed the surest protection to the properties, lives, and liberties of the subjects of this realm. We cannot, therefore, but lament that certain methods of criminal proceeding, which either in part, or altogether, deprive the accused of that excellent trial, which is the most valuable birthright of an Englishman, have been by slow degrees so far extended, as to render those rights and privileges established by Magna Charta, and the ancient common law of this kingdom, both less extensive and less secure.

It was therefore the desire of the freeholders to promote (as an object highly worthy the attention of parliament) an enquiry into the modern practice relative to informations, attachment, and other summary proceedings, in order to ascer-

tain how far such practice has been conformable to the ancient laws and constitution of the kingdom, and, if it should be found necessary on such enquiry, to procure some law to limit and define the power of the different courts and officers of justice in regard to those summary proceedings, so as might fully secure the constitutional right of the subject to a trial by his peers, and render that right as extensive as should appear consistent with the necessity of enforcing obedience to the due administration of justice, and rightful authority of the laws.

As to the last instruction, the principal reason given for it, by the gentleman who proposed it, was shortly this: That the territorial revenue in India being so great an object as it now is, an enquiry into the rights of the publick would be highly proper; that the parliament (without committing injustice, or infringing the rights of any body of men) might fall upon some measure for rendering the important acquisitions in India as beneficial as possible to the nation in general, as well as to the East India company in particular, especially at a time when there is so much need of every thing, which has a tendency to lessen the excessive burden of our taxes. I can with the more confidence assert, that these were the general grounds on which the meeting of the freeholders proceeded, as I am

A Freeholder who was present.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

THE submission of a free people to the executive authority of government is no more than a compliance with laws, which they themselves have enacted. While the national honour is firmly maintained abroad, and while justice is impartially administered at home, the obedience of the subject will be voluntary, cheerful, and I might almost say unlimited. A generous nation is grateful even for the preservation of its rights, and willingly extends the respect due to the office of a good prince into an affection for his person. Loyalty, in the heart and understanding of an Englishman, is a national attachment to the guardian of the laws. Prejudices and passions have sometimes carried it to a criminal length; and, whatever foreigners may imagine, we know that Englishmen have erred as much in a mistaken zeal for particular persons and families, as they ever did in defence of what they thought most dear and interesting to themselves.

It naturally fills us with resentment to see such a temper insulted or abused. In reading the history of a free people, whose

whose rights have been invaded, we are interested in their cause. Our own feelings tell us how long they ought to have submitted, and at what moment it would have been treachery to themselves not to have resisted. How much warmer will be our resentment if experience should bring the fatal example home to ourselves?

The situation of this country is alarming enough to rouse the attention of every man, who pretends to a concern for the public welfare. Appearances justify suspicion, and, when the safety of a nation is at stake, suspicion is a just ground of enquiry. Let us enter into it with candour and decency. Respect is due to the station of ministers; and, if a resolution must at last be taken, there is none so likely to be supported with firmness, as that which has been adopted with moderation.

The ruin or prosperity of a state depends so much upon the administration of its government, that, to be acquainted with the merit of a ministry, we need only observe the condition of the people. If we see them obedient to the laws, prosperous in their industry, united at home and respected abroad, we may reasonably presume that their affairs are conducted by men of experience, abilities and virtue. If, on the contrary, we see an universal spirit of distrust and dissatisfaction, a rapid decay of trade, dissensions in all parts of the empire, and a total loss of respect in the eyes of foreign powers, we may pronounce, without hesitation, that the government of that country is weak, distracted, and corrupt. The multitude, in all countries, are patient to a certain point. Ill usage may rouse their indignation, and hurry them into excesses, but the original fault is in government. Perhaps there never was an instance of a change, in the circumstances and temper of a whole nation, so sudden and extraordinary as that which the misconduct of ministers has, within these very few years, produced in Great Britain. When our gracious sovereign ascended the throne, we were a flourishing and a contented people. If the personal virtues of a king could have insured the happiness of his subjects, the scene could not have altered so entirely as it has done. The idea of uniting all parties, of trying all characters, and of distributing the offices of state by rotation, was gracious and benevolent to an extreme, though it has not yet produced the many salutary effects which were intended by it. To say nothing of the wisdom of such a plan, it undoubtedly arose from an unbounded goodness of heart, in which folly had no share. It was not a capricious partiality to new faces;—it was not a natural turn for low intrigue;

nor was it the treacherous amusement of double and triple negotiations. No, it arose from a continued anxiety, in the purest of all possible hearts, for the general welfare. Unfortunately for us, the event has not been answerable to the design. After a rapid succession of changes, we are reduced to that state, which hardly any change can mend. Yet there is no extremity of distress, which of itself ought to reduce a great nation to despair. It is not the disorder but the physician; — it is not a casual concurrence of calamitous circumstances, it is the pernicious hand of government, which alone can make a whole people desperate.

Without much political sagacity, or any extraordinary depth of observation, we need only mark how the principal departments of the state are bestowed, and look no farther for the true cause of every mischief that befalls us.

The finances of a nation, sinking under its debts and expences, are committed to a young nobleman already ruined by play. Introduced to act under the auspices of lord C——m, and left at the head of affairs by that nobleman's retreat, he became minister by accident; but deserting the principles and professions, which gave him a moment's popularity, we see him, from every honourable engagement to the public, an apostate by design. As for business, the world yet knows nothing of his talents or resolution; unless a wayward, wavering inconsistency be a mark of genius, and caprice a demonstration of spirit. It may be said perhaps, that it is his grace's province, as surely it is his passion, rather to distribute than to save the public money, and that while lord N—— is c——r of the e——r, the first lord of the t——y may be as thoughtless and as extravagant as he pleases. I hope however he will not rely too much on the fertility of lord N——'s genius for finance. His lordship is yet to give us the first proof of his abilities: It may be candid to suppose that he has hitherto, voluntarily, concealed his talents; intending perhaps to astonish the world, when we least expect it, with a knowledge of trade, a choice of expedients, and a depth of resources, equal to the necessities, and far beyond the hopes of his country. He must now exert the whole power of his capacity, if he would wish us to forget, that, since he has been in office, no plan has been formed, no system adhered to, nor any one important measure adopted for the relief of public credit. If his plan for the service of the current year be not irrevocably fixed on, let me warn him to think seriously of consequences before he ventures to increase the public debt. Outraged and oppressed as we are, this nation will not bear, after a six years peace, to see new millions borrowed, without

an eventual diminution of debt, or reduction of interest. The attempt might rouse a spirit of resentment, which might reach beyond the sacrifice of a minister. As to the debt upon the civil list, the people of England expect that it will not be paid without a strict inquiry how it was incurred. If it must be paid by parliament, let me advise the c——r of the e——r to think of some better expedient than a lottery. To support an expensive war, or in circumstances of absolute necessity, a lottery may perhaps be allowable; but, besides that it is at all times the very worst way of raising money upon the people, I think it ill becomes the r——l dignity to have the debts of a —— provided for, like the repairs of a country, bridge or a decayed hospital. The management of the k——s affairs in the h—— of c—— cannot be more disgraced than it has been. A leading minister repeatedly called down for absolute ignorance;—ridiculous motions ridiculously withdrawn;—deliberate plans disconcerted, and a week's preparation of graceful oratory lost in a moment, give us some, though not an adequate idea of lord N——'s parliamentary abilities and influence. Yet before he had the misfortune to be c—— of the e——r, he was neither an object of derision to his enemies, nor of melancholy pity to his friends.

A series of inconsistent measures had alienated the colonies from their duty as subjects, and from their natural affection to their common country. When Mr. Grenville was placed at the head of the r——y, he felt the impossibility of Great Britain's supporting such an establishment as her former successes had made indisputable, and at the same time of giving any sensible relief to foreign trade and to the weight of the public debt. He thought it equitable that those parts of the empire, which had benefited most by the expences of the war, should contribute something to the expences of the peace, and he had no doubt of the constitutional right vested in parliament to raise that contribution. But, unfortunately for this country, Mr. Grenville was at any rate to be distressed because he was minister, and Mr. P——t and lord C——n were to be the patrons of America, because they were in opposition. Their declarations gave spirit and argument to the colonies, and while perhaps they meant no more than the ruin of a minister, they in effect divided one half of the empire from the other.

Under one administration the stamp act is made, under the second it is repealed, under the third, in spite of all experience, a new mode of taxing the colonies is invented, and a question revived, which ought to have been buried in oblivion. In these circumstances a new office is established for the busi-

ness of the plantations, and the earl of H——h called forth, at a most critical season, to govern the affairs of America. The choice at least announced to us a man of superior capacity and knowledge. Whether he be so or not, let his dispatches as far as they have appeared, let his measures as far as they have operated, determine for him. In the former we have seen strong assertions without proof, declamation without argument, and violent censures without dignity or moderation; but neither correctness in the composition, nor judgment in the design. As for his measures, let it be remembered that he was called upon to conciliate and unite; and that when he entered into office, the most refractory of the colonies were still disposed to proceed by the constitutional methods of petition and remonstrance. Since that period they have been driven into excesses little short of rebellion. Petitions have been hindered from reaching the throne; and the continuance of one of the principal assemblies put upon an arbitrary condition, which, considering the temper they were in, it was impossible they should comply with, and which would have availed nothing as to the general question if it had been complied with. So violent, and I believe I may call it so unconstitutional an exertion of the prerogative, to say nothing of the weak, injudicious terms in which it was conveyed, gives us as humble an opinion of his lordship's capacity, as it does of his temper and moderation. While we are at peace with other nations, our military force may perhaps be spared to support the Earl of H——h's measures in America. Whenever that force shall be necessarily withdrawn or diminished, the dismissal of such a minister will neither console us for his imprudence, nor remove the settled resentment of a people, who, complaining of an act of the legislature, are outraged by an unwarrantable stretch of prerogative, and supporting their claims by argument, are insulted with declamation.

Drawing lots would be a prudent and reasonable method of appointing the officers of state, compared to a late disposition of the secretary's office. Lord R——d was acquainted with the affairs and temper of the southern colonies: Lord W——h was equally qualified for either department. By what unaccountable caprice has it happened, that the latter, who pretends to no experience whatsoever, is removed to the most important of the two departments; and the former by preference placed in an office, where his experience can be of no use to him? Lord W——h had distinguished himself in his first employment by a spirited, if not judicious, conduct

conduct. He had animated the civil magistrate beyond the tone of civil authority, and had directed the operations of the army to more than military execution. Recovered from the errors of his youth, from the distraction of play, and the bewitching smiles of Burgundy, behold him exerting the whole strength of his clear, unclouded faculties in the service of the crown. It was not the heat of midnight excesses, nor ignorance of the laws, nor the furious spirit of the house of B——d: No; when this respectable minister interposed his authority between the magistrate and the people, and signed the mandate, on which, for ought he knew, the lives of thousands depended, he did it from the deliberate motion of his heart, supported by the best of his judgment.

It has lately been a fashion to pay a compliment to the bravery and generosity of the c——r in c——, at the expence of his understanding. They who love him least make no question of his courage, while his friends dwell chiefly on the facility of his disposition. Admitting him to be as brave as a total absence of all feeling and reflection can make him; let us see what sort of merit he derives from the remainder of his character. If it be generosity to accumulate in his own person and family a number of lucrative employments; to provide, at the public expence, for every creature that bears the name of M——rs; and neglecting the merit and services of the rest of the army, to heap promotions upon his favourites and dependants, the present c——r in c——f is the most generous man alive. Nature has been sparing of her gifts to this noble lord; but where birth and fortune are united, we expect the noble pride and independance of a man of spirit, not the servile humiliating compliances of a courtier. As to the goodness of his heart, if a proof of it be taken from the facility of never refusing, what conclusion shall we draw from the indecency of never performing? And if the discipline of the army be in any degree preserved, what thanks are due to a man, whose cares, notoriously confined to filling up vacancies, have degraded the office of c——r in ch—— into a broker of commissions?

With respect to the navy, I shall only say, that this country is so highly indebted to Sir Edward Hawke, that no expence should be spared to secure him an honourable and affluent retreat.

The pure and impartial administration of justice is perhaps the firmest bond to secure a cheerful submission of the people, and to engage their affections to government. It is not sufficient that questions of private right and wrong are justly decided; nor that judges are superior to the vileness of pecuniary

ary corruption. Jefferies himself, when the court had no interest, was an upright judge. A court of justice may be subject to another sort of bias, more important and pernicious, as it reaches beyond the interest of individuals, and affects the whole community. A judge, under the influence of government, may be honest enough in the decision of private causes, yet a traitor to the public. When a victim is marked out by the ministry, this judge will offer himself to perform the sacrifice. He will not scruple to prostitute his dignity, and betray the sanctity of his office, whenever an arbitrary point is to be carried for g——t, or the resentment of a c——t to be gratified.

These principles and proceedings, odious and contemptible as they are, in effect are no less injudicious. A wise and generous people are roused by every appearance of oppressive, unconstitutional measures; whether those measures are supported openly by the power of g——t, or masked under the forms of a c——t of j——sti——e. Prudence and self-preservation will oblige the most moderate dispositions to make common cause, even with a man whose conduct they censure, if they see him persecuted in a way which the real spirit of the laws will not justify. The facts, on which these remarks are founded, are too notorious to require an application.

This is the detail. In one view behold a nation overwhelmed with debt;—her revenues wasted;—her trade declining;—the affections of her colonies alienated;—the duty of the civil magistrate transferred to the soldiery;—a gallant army, which never fought unwillingly, but against their fellow subjects, mouldering away for want of the direction of a man of common abilities and spirit;—and, in the last instance, the administration of justice become odious and suspected to the whole body of the people. This deplorable scene admits but of one addition, — that we are governed by counsels, from which a reasonable man can expect no remedy but poison, no relief but death.

If, by the immediate interposition of providence, it were possible for us to escape a crisis so full of terror and despair; posterity will not believe the history of the present times. They will either conclude that our distresses were imaginary, or that we had the good fortune to be governed by men of acknowledged integrity and wisdom: They will not believe it possible that their ancestors could have survived, or recovered from so desperate a condition, while a duke of G——n was prime minister, — a lord N—— chancellor of the exchequer, — a W———h or H———h secretaries of state, — a G——y commander in chief, — and a M——d chief criminal judge of the kingdom.

JUN IUS.
Authentic

For the POLITICAL REGISTER

Authentic papers relating the election of an Alderman for the Ward of Farringdon Without, in the room of Sir Francis Gosling, deceased.

To the Worthy Inhabitants of the Ward of Farringdon Without.

Gentlemen,

YOUR vote, poll and interest are desired for John Wilkes Esq; Citizen and Joiner, to be alderman of this respectable ward, in the room of Sir Francis Gosling, knt. deceased.

N. B. The wardmote is directed to be held on Monday next, at Twelve at noon, at St. Bride's Church in Fleet Street, where your early attendance is requested.

The following card was sent to an eminent banker in Fleet Street.

" Lord H——'s most respectful compliments to Mr. H——, and begs the favour of him to exert his utmost influence to prevent Mr. Wilkes being elected an Alderman."

To the Worthy Inhabitants of the Ward of Farringdon Without.

Gentlemen,

YOUR vote, interest and poll (if needful) are requested for CHARLES VERE, Esq; Citizen and Goldsmith; (deputy of the ward) to be your alderman in the room of Sir Francis Gosling, Knight, deceased; being a gentleman zealously affected to our happy constitution in church and state, and a steady asserter of the rights and privileges of his fellow citizens.

To the Worthy Inhabitants of the Ward of Farringdon Without.

Gentlemen,

UPON the pressing and repeated solicitations of Mr. Bromwich, and many others of the common-council and inhabitants of this ward, I was prevailed on to give my concurrence to the printing an address to you for succeeding our late worthy alderman. But, as for a long time I declined making you a tender of my services, so upon hearing that Mr. Bromwich is proposed by several gentlemen, I do now, for the peace of the ward, resume my first intentions, with many thanks to those friends who thought me in any degree worthy to succeed so respectable a magistrate.

I am, Gentlemen, with great respect,

Your humble servant,

*Fleet Street,
Dec. 31, 1768.*

CHARLES VERE.

Man-

Monday, Jan. 2, 1769.

To the Worthy Inhabitants of the Ward of Farringdon Without.
Gentlemen,

AT the obliging desire of many respectable inhabitants of this opulent ward, I have presumed to offer myself a candidate to succeed the late very worthy Sir Francis Godding, as your alderman ; and I take this public manner of soliciting your suffrages at the wardmote which is to be held this day at St. Bride's church, for the election of a new magistrate. Honoured, however, as I am, with the recommendation of so many considerable constituents, I should think it too great a temerity to request the distinction of your voice, if I was not conscious of a real ambition to deserve it. I have been a member of your ward above thirty years, and I have been your representative in the common-council above twelve. During these periods, my study has been to discharge the duties of a good citizen and an honest man, to the utmost of my abilities ; and I trust that the knowledge you have had of my past conduct will give you some generous impressions in favour of my future behaviour ;—I do not, Gentlemen, here address your prejudices, but your reason,—I do not apply myself to the warmth of your persons, but to the candour of your hearts ;—I have no object in view but the advancement of your welfare. On this basis only I build my hopes of success in the present opposition, and I doubt not but the same wisdom, which has hitherto directed your proceedings, will, on this occasion, distinguish between the evident friends, and the manifest enemies of your prosperity. The men who endeavour to blast your peace, can have no regard for your happiness ; nor can those entertain a disinterested zeal for your honour, who officiously obtrude themselves from other wards to dictate what magistrate you shall chuse in your own.

The reputation of your ward, Gentlemen, was never more at stake than at this critical period, and the question is simply, Whether you will be governed by strangers, or ruled by yourselves ? Whether you will neglect the recommendation of those whose welfare is immediately blended with your welfare, or listen to the voice of those to whom your prosperity must be wholly indifferent ?

Many who have importuned you in favour of the other candidate, so far from having votes, have not even the privilege of being citizens ; yet, with a very extraordinary modesty, they endeavour to force an alderman upon you, and, to rescue you from what they call the tyranny of your own inhabitants

tants, they arrogantly claim a right of governing you despotically themselves.

Rouze, Gentlemen, to a just sense of your own importance, and spurn with indignation the arguments of those, who, under the specious mark of restoring the liberty of your ward, are really desirous of treading you into slaves. Let it not be recorded, that the inhabitants of so extensive a part of this great city, were made the instruments of faction, and cheated out of their good sense by a few designing men, who aim at a dishonourable eminence, by disturbing the peace of society. Be, as you have ever been, Gentlemen, careful of your reputation. This will be a certain criterion for your decision; and let this decision either frustrate or crown my wishes, I shall eternally remain, with unalterable attachment and regard,

Gentlemen, your faithful friend,

and fellow citizen,

THO. BROMWICH.

To the Worthy and Independent Inhabitants of the Ward of Farringdon Without.

THE inhabitants of the ward of Farringdon Without cannot reasonably be angry with Mr. Bromwich for offering himself a candidate, when it is considered that Mr. Bromwich, as paper-hanger to his majesty, must not refuse to obey the orders of the Board of Works. But it is apprehended, that the orders issued by the Board of Works to the inhabitants will not meet with the same ready compliance to elect him; because the honest freemen are not all paper-hangers to his majesty, and therefore are not under the same necessity of electing, as Mr. Bromwich is, of being, a candidate.

To the Worthy Inhabitants of the Ward of Farringdon Without
Gentlemen, *Jan. 2.*

A False and scandalous paper having been distributed by the friends of Mr. Wilkes (*with their usual regard to truth*) in order to prejudice me in your favour, I do declare that I never had, directly or indirectly, any sort of request or direction from the Board of Works, or other person, any ways relating to the election of an alderman for this respectable ward, or any other election whatsoever. And if the Reverend Mr. Horne will enquire of his own brother, who has the honour of serving the royal family, under the direction of another board, he will be informed, that neither his brother, or his father, who also served the royal family, ever received any orders or directions respecting any public elections.

THOMAS BROMWICH.

To

To Mr. THOMAS BROMWICH.

S I R,

Monday Noon, Jan. 2.

I This moment received the very extraordinary appeal with which you honour me, and am most sincerely sorry to be able to contradict you.

My father did often in his life receive orders and instructions about elections, which he never obeyed.

My brother-in-law, who has some hundreds a year in the customs, and some few more as librarian to her majesty, did, last general election, canvass personally with Sir William Beauchamp Proctor.

I have answered you, Sir, as I will every man, however insignificant, who calls upon me in his own name; though I know not what right you have to talk to the public of my family or private connections; as little, I believe, as I should have to rake up the ashes of the dead, or enquire from whose hands you received your first wife, or examine the domestic arrangement between yourself and your partner.

JOHN HORNE

ON Monday, Jan. 2, the right hon. the Lord Mayor held a wardmote at St. Bride's church, in Fleet Street, for the election, when John Wilkes, Esq; and Mr. Bromwich were severally put up; at which time there appearing an amazing number of hands in favour of Mr. Wilkes, and very few for Mr. Bromwich, Mr. Wilkes was declared; but a poll being demanded by the friends of Mr. Bromwich, the same begun immediately, and closed at three, when the numbers stood as follows.

	<i>Bromwich.</i>	<i>Wilkes.</i>
Parish of St. Dunstan, for	11	43
St. Sepulchre,	15	85
St. Bride,	36	72
St. Andrew, Holb.	5	42
St. Martin, Ludg.	2	6
The district of White-Friars,	0	7
	69	255

About three o'clock Mr. Bromwich declined giving his friends any further trouble, and Mr. Wilkes was declared duly elected amidst the shouts of a prodigious multitude of people, great part of whom accompanied the right hon. the Lord Mayor to the mansion house, with repeated acclamations of applause for his lordship's candid and impartial conduct. The election was attended with very little disturbance, considering the great zeal testified by the friends of Mr. Wilkes, as a steady assertor of their privileges, and the freedom of Englishmen.

To the Worthy Inhabitants of the Ward of Farringdon Without.

Gentlemen,

FINDING the sense of the ward to be so much in favour of John Wilkes, Esq; I declined the poll, not being willing to give any unnecessary trouble to my friends; therefore beg you will accept my sincere thanks for the favour intended, and am, Gentlemen,

Your most obliged humble servant,

Jan. 2.

THOMAS BROMWICH.

To the Worthy Inhabitants of the Ward of Farringdon Without.

Gentlemen, Freemen, and Fellow Citizens.

I AM truly grateful to you for the honour I this day receive in being elected alderman of this large, opulent, and respectable ward. Every power I derive from that high office, shall be employed in the preservation of the rights of the livery of London, and of all the freemen of this great metropolis. After the primary duty I owe to the county of Middlesex, I shall consider the claim which you now have upon me, as demanding the utmost exertion of my poor abilities. I promise you a faithful and zealous attachment to your service, a diligent attendance on your business, and a steady attention to the interests of our ward.

From you, Gentlemen, I entreat on every occasion a full and early communication of whatever you judge of consequence to the prosperity of the ward, as well as to the welfare of this free city, and the support of its trade and commerce, which are of the utmost importance to its own greatness, and to the whole kingdom. I will always take a public spirited, decided and disinterested part; and I doubt not of support and assistance in all my undertakings, for they shall be directed solely by a regard to the interests of the people of England, of this city in general, and our ward in particular. The near relation in which I now stand to you, will, I hope, furnish me with frequent opportunities of knowing your sentiments in our common concerns, and every gentleman of the ward shall have an easy access, where they have lodged their power, for the just exercise of which, I shall think myself in all instances accountable to my constituents.

I am, Gentlemen, Freemen, and Fellow Citizens,

With gratitude and respect, your affectionate

King's Bench Prison

and obedient humble servant

Mon. Jan. 2, 1769.

JOHN WILKES.

Next

Next day a gentleman was sent with a message to John Wilkes, Esq; from the right hon. the Lord Mayor, acquainting him of his being elected alderman of Farringdon Ward without, in the room of the late Sir Francis Gosling, Knt. and desiring him to appoint a day for his being sworn in. Mr. Wilkes received his lordship's message with the highest regard, and begged the gentleman to return his most grateful and sincere thanks to his lordship for the great candor he had shewn on the day of election, and hoped that he should have it in his power to pay his respects to his lordship at the mansion-house on the 17th instant, and to be sworn in at Guildhall the 24th.

The common-council of the Ward were invited by Mr Wilkes to dine with him on the Saturday following, when six only accepted his invitation.

On Wednesday Jan. 18. At a court of aldermen held at Guildhall, to consider in what manner they should act with respect to the election of an alderman for Farringdon Without; it appeared that, casting up the poll after an adjournment had been mentioned, and declaring the candidate who had the majority, after the other candidate had declined, was an undue election, and a city officer observed, that if the court of aldermen confirmed that election they would subject themselves to a *Mandamus* from the King's Bench.

At a court of aldermen on Tuesday the 24th of January, at Guildhall, the late election of John Wilkes, Esq; to be alderman of Farringdon Ward Without, in the room of Sir Francis Gosling, deceased, was declared illegal; and a wardmote was accordingly appointed to be held on Friday following for a new election.

To the Worthy Inhabitants of the Ward of Farringdon Without.

Gentlemen, Freemen, and Fellow Citizens.

I CANNOT conceal my surprize at this day's resolution of the court of aldermen, relative to the high office which I now hold by your favour in this great city. The day after your choice, an officer came to me from the Lord Mayor, to congratulate me on my election, and to say, that on account of the holidays, no court of aldermen could be held till Tuesday the 17th, when his Lordship would declare my being elected your Alderman; and he gave me notice that I must prepare to be sworn in on the Tuesday following, the 24th. I desired the officer to return my thanks to his Lordship for the obliging congratulation, as well as for the fair and candid proceedings at St. Bride's Church; and I added, that as I

did not doubt, from the justice of the house of peers, that the two sentences against me would be reversed on the 16th, I hoped to pay my personal duty to the first magistrate of the city on the 17th, at the mansion house.

I am entirely convinced, Gentlemen, that the late election was fair and legal. It was almost unanimous. My opponent, Mr. Bromwich, gave up the contest under his hand at the time of election, and two days after, on Wednesday the 4th, he advertised in the public prints, that, "finding the sense of the ward to be so much in favour of John Wilkes, Esq; he declined the poll, not being willing to give any unnecessary trouble to his friends." The Lord Mayor published the numbers as soon as Mr. Bromwich gave up the poll, and declared me duly elected.

The proceeding to a new election, I consider as an injury done to you, gentlemen, whose rights and privileges I will ever support. I am informed, there is no power in the court of aldermen to decide upon, or even to enquire into, the object of your choice, or the legality of your election. They are obliged to admit, and to swear in the person who is returned to them by the chief magistrate. The act of common council compels them to it. I will support this right, not only for the sake of our own ward, but as the clear privilege of the city, of every citizen of London. Upon this principle I shall not ask any favour of them, but do lay claim to the being admitted into that court, in consequence of your free election of me as Alderman of this respectable ward.

As I find, Gentlemen, that another wardmote is summoned for next Friday, I entreat you to attend early to assert your own independence, to support your former election, and to prevent, if possible, all cavil. I am well informed, that a part of the court of aldermen are determined to reject me, although I shall be honoured a second time by your choice; but I beg leave to assure you of my steadiness in the maintenance of your rights on this and every other important occasion, and that I am, with true respect,

Gentlemen, your obedient and

King's-bench Prison

faithful humble servant,

Jan. 24, 1769,

JOHN WILKES.

N. B. The wardmote will be held at St. Bride's Church on Friday next, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon.

On Friday Jan. 27, A wardmote, was held at St. Bride's church, for the election of an alderman of the ward of Farringdon without, in the room of the late Sir Francis Gosling, deceased, and there being no candidate to oppose John Wilkes, Esq; that gentleman was declared duly elected to the office.

The

The acclamations on the Lord Mayor's entering St. Bride's church, could be equalled by nothing but the loud and repeated bursts of applause on the declaration being made that Mr. Wilkes was duly elected alderman.

At the opening of the business, the Lord Mayor, in a very elegant speech, assured the inhabitants, that, "the reason of their having the trouble of attending a second time on the business of electing an alderman, was owing to a mistake of his own, in making the declaration at the for me election, after the books had been closed."—How much honour does this acknowledgement do to the good sense and modesty of his lordship!

To the Worthy inhabitants of the Ward of Farringdon Without.
Gentlemen,

THE repeated exertion of the noble spirit of independence, which you have shewn this day, does me the highest honour, and calls for my grateful acknowledgments. It now only remains for me to assert your rights, to carry into execution what you have determined in my favour, and to employ the power, with which you have intrusted me, for your good. Whatever occurs, I shall submit to my constituents. I desire the gentlemen of the ward to be the judges of my conduct, and to try me by my actions; which, I promise you, shall always be directed to the great commercial interests, to the privileges and the franchises of this city, and all the citizens. It will be my ambition as well as my duty in this new dignity, to which you have raised me, to assert the rights of all the freemen of London, and to promote on every occasion the interests of this respectable and important ward.

I am, gentlemen, your faithful and obliged humble servant,
Friday, Jan. 27, 1769.

JOHN WILKES:

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

A Very partial writer, who seems to me but a bad judge of the talents of state-dancers, has lately given a very unsatisfactory account of a dance that has been performed annually, before the meeting of p—t, for many years past, much to the amusement, but I am sorry to say, not much to the advantage of the public; I therefore will write a more full detail of it; but although I have learned from Denoyer, and was thought no bad dancer in my time, I could hardly make out the figure. The performers were the usual set at St. James's: all of them did not dance at the same time, some pretending to be tired, sat down; but the real reason was, they were trumped at others standing above them. Not
noe

one woman was amongst them. L—d B—l, to give him his due, had much the appearance of one, and footed with a great deal of grace. At the first striking up of the music, they were all in confusion; but upon one of the dancers (whose name I could not learn, who danced in the middle, without having any particular partner, and whom they all seemed to flatter) holding up his hand, they all came to the right-about, and every man endeavoured to get the best place he could. L—C—m got to be first couple, then they all fell back and changed sides. G—lle set at him; C—m turned his back and beckoned, the other followed; they then joined hands, shuffled, and led up the middle; then set at L—R—m, but disappointed him; they served L—S—ne the same; upon which B—ke and B—ré went down last couple, then set to L—T—le, turned him, and danced the *Hoyes*. The D— of B— was always falling into the Cotillon step, thinking no-body saw him, as he saw no-body. L—C—re made several feints to sit down, but always continued one of the set, and never ceased shuffling and looking at the music, in order to keep in time. L—B—l and L—C—m changed places, and danced back to back. But B—l and L—G—S— had a particular manner of setting to each other, which diverted me very much; whenever B—l turned his back, S—le set at him with the wriggle-step, who then turned his back, and was set at by the other in some step he learned at Turin; upon which an Irish gentleman, who stood by me, remarked, that it was these steps which made one of them leave I—d, and prevented the other from going there; as all the world knows the method of dancing at the castle of D—n is face to face. L—C—m danced like a stage-dancer, very high, and kicked about his heels very much; complained often of his head, but as often recovered, and made several cuts, to the astonishment of the company. L—T—le did better than one should have imagined, from his awkward shambling manner, but was apt to put the rest out, by insisting to dance a figure of his own. L—S—ne danced a step, called, the Jesuit's shuffle; you could never discern upon which leg he stood, or how he kept himself in, or up, except now and then that he supported himself in these equivocal *Entrechats* on the shoulders of his friend I—c. R—y always kept the places of two people, declaring he neither could nor would dance if he had not elbow room. L—H—d and L—H—f—d made no great figure in the dance: I only observed that they employed themselves in taking handkerchiefs, or what they could get out of the other dancers pockets. I suppose all of joke, and it being

Sa-

Saturday night, they would not dance after twelve o'clock. C——y thought he was doing wonders while he busied himself in his little fiddle-faddle step, which meant nothing, and neither moved himself or others. L— R——m danced the old English steps, with now and then a Yorkshire shuffle; B——ke endeavoured often to teach him better, but dancing is not his talent, B——re was the dog in the dancing school, he was not used to so good company, and seeing L——d S——n set at and balked, he was once in his life confounded, and did not know which way to turn. H——on gave a few most astonishingly finished caprioles, but could not be prevailed on to give any more, although he was encored by the company, who knew he had more in him if he would let it out. As to the rest they were no better than chairs or corner cupboards, and the D——e of G——n took fulk and sat down: the person whose name I could not find out, they all in their turns endeavoured to dance round; but he, by keeping the exact time with the music, prevented them, till at last they all joined hands and danced round him in the manner of country bumpkin; all the music this brilliant company was put in motion by, was a Scotch piper, placed under a canopy who played whatever tune he pleased, and made them dance to it: although G——lle often called for Yanky Doodle, it was observed that whenever the person in the middle turned his back, or was inattentive, the piper always squeaked, "Over the water to Charley." I asked at the door who paid the musick, and a well looking man, sighing, answered the publick paid the piper. SHEELLAHNAGIG.

IN the name of wonder, how came our friend *Sheellahnagig* to leave so many of my good friends out of his list of political dancers? particularly L——d E——t, and Polonius, who, though he is gone to France to learn a new dance, shall have no other music than mine. But it is above all unpardonable in *Sheellahnagig* to have left out my old acquaintance, schoolfellow, and intimate friend, L——d R——d, who has so often danced to my pipe, both in Spain and France, as well as in England, and is remarkably fond of Scotch airs and reels; especially of the *Stuart's Rant*, and the old lilt of *John Paterfon's mare goes foremost*, (lately modernized) which I have adapted to the tunes, and pricked out for his L——d—p's own private use; who, though but an indifferent scraper of catgut himself, yet has a tolerable ear for the performances of others.

The D——e of G——n being the sole master of the ceremonies, was set at by L——d R——d, with very great anxiety for some considerable time; who finding his g——e inclined to lead him to the left about, with one of his own shuffles, and the side step, immediately baulked out, that unless his place was changed

changed in the set, he would directly call out for a Corsican dance, or dance no longer to the D—e of G—n's frolick, which put the whole company in great confusion, particularly the person in the middle of the ring, who frowned prodigiously at the mention of a Corsican dance : but upon the D—e of G—s turning L—d R—d to another side, the dance went on as before ; only that L—d W—h went out of his turn with all possible eagerness at the D—e of B—d, though also out of his turn and dancing, and therefore improper ; upon which his g—e directly crossed over, figured in right and left and led up to the top, and then insisted that these L—ds should change sides. The person in the middle upon this looked towards me for the nod of approbation (though I was at no small distance) which I immediately gave, in my usual way, by a hollow groan of my great drones, and two or three grunts of my chanter, and then L—d R—d went to the north side, and L—d W—h to the south ; L—d S—e having totally lost the use of his legs.

L—d R—d being an odd man, and having no constant partner, seemed to dance but very awkwardly, owing, I suppose, to his passion for *contre* dances. In going down the dance, however, his L—p set at old Polonius, and shewing him some French steps, recommended a young pupil to be taken in training. Polonius simpered a compliance : but in a twinkling altering his mind, he shuffled to the left about with a side step, and gave L—d R—d the slip, which made his L—d—p look very morose ; and swear that he would never dance with old Polonius again.—Some of the company being fond of novelty, began to revive an enquiry after the new dance imported from Corfica, as first mentioned by L—d R—d ; but his L—d, after changing sides recanted directly, and cried it down into disrepute ; and then making the signal to R—y to foot it stoutly to B—ke and B—e and to shew them the figure led down (which he did so loud as to be distinctly heard by the whole house) it was immediately over-ruled and laid aside.

It was about this time of the ball that the D—e of G—n, the master of the ceremonies, began to look sulky, and was in the dumps ; and seeing so many shuffling their own way, and not inclined to dance the figure he had given, commanded B—w his political P—p, to shut the subscription books immediately, so to remain for several days, untill he should know the sense of twenty four city dancers, from whom he had great expectations ; and then, with an imperious and arrogant tone of voice (which made poor B—w stare with a doubtful panick, as if he had been at his old trade again of vending prohibited goods) ordered this hireling subaltern to snuff the candles, clear the passages, shew the company down stairs, and him to the stool room.

The Master Piper of Wales.

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Designed & Engraved for the Political Register.



JOHN GLYN Esq. Member of Parliament for MIDDLESEX

For MARCH, 1769.

N U M B E R . XXIV.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

The humble Remonstrance of a loyal Subject of
MONOMOTAPA to his SOVEREIGN.

S I R-E,

W I T H : a heart truly sensible of the many blessings,
which the inhabitants of: your ancient kingdom of
Monomotapa have enjoyed, ever since the happy accession
of your illustrious house to her imperial throne, blessings
which were bequeathed to the present generation pure,
unmixed and without allay, by your royal predecessor.
Permit one of the most dutiful and most loyal of your
majesty's subjects, born in the capital of your kingdom,
and who had the honour to join in the loud acclamations
of a joyful people, when your majesty ascended the throne
of your ancestors, in all humility to approach your sa-
cred person, and to expostulate with your majesty, on the
various causes which have contributed to damp that uni-
versal spirit of joy and exultation which diffused itself
throughout your extensive dominions at that happy period;
and to account for the many disagreeable events which
VOL. IV. 8 have

have since arisen to disturb your royal breast; and to interrupt that repose and tranquillity, you might well expect to enjoy, after having terminated the most successful war, that was ever carried on by your ancient kingdom of Monomotapa, and which, had it been continued but one year longer, must have humbled in the dust the old inveterate enemies of your renowned empire.

No indecent expression shall be found in this remonstrance to wound the ear of sacred majesty, nor shall one unfavourable sentiment tending to infringe on the just prerogatives of the crown, or to lessen the dignity of government, escape me—but at the same time I will dare to assert and maintain such truths, as a patriot king will ever listen to with attention, and with no other emotion, than such as may proceed from a firm, spirited resolution to remove from his councils, and from the administration of government, every set of men, without exception, however dignified, distinguished or allied,—through whose inability, venality and servility, the fame and honour of this renowned maritime state has been sullied on the continent, by a breach of public faith, and her hopes of future alliances, when attacked by potent enemies, rendered precarious and uncertain,—by whom the revenues of this kingdom have been exhausted, and brought into such a deplorable situation as to endanger that very delicate foundation PUBLIC CREDIT, on which is built the power, commercial strength, riches and happiness of your dominions—By whose dastardly and imbecile conduct, faction and its constant attendant corruption has risen to such a height, that your majesty has been under the disagreeable necessity of lowering yourself in the eyes of your whole people, by submitting to disgraceful, mercenary proposals, from different parties, who have boldly seized the reins of government for a short time, with the sole view of extorting from your majesty, such grants of pensions and reversions in case of removal, as argued at once a conscious inability to continue long in office, and a premeditated resolution to have as large a share as possible, in the plun-

der

der of an almost exhausted treasury—by whom every rapacious dependant on your contending courtiers has been amply provided for, at the public expence,—who have dared on every occasion, to make use of the royal name as a sanction for unconstitutional measures, and have presumed to express an approbation, you could never give, of a most illegal and cruel exertion of the military power, against your innocent subjects; such an exertion as would have entitled the offenders to condign punishment, in many states which are stiled absolute, despotic monarchies, as I shall have the honour to convince you in the sequel of this remonstrance; from recent instances,—who have spread consternation, terror and dismay, through the land, violating the darling privileges of the people, interrupting the freedom of elections, rendering the attendance of the freeholders dangerous to their persons, ransacking the coffers of public trading companies, to supply the deficiencies arising from a mismanagement of the public revenues, in a word,—who have withheld from the father of his people, the true state of the nation, and have construed every complaint, every modest representation of the subjects both at home and in the northern colony of Monoemugi, against the arbitrary, oppressive measures of unstable administrations, into sedition; and every defence of their just property, against the exertions of lawless power, into overt acts of rebellion; till they have at length roused the public spirit of the people throughout all your dominions, and though, perhaps, blind fury, and a particular attachment to the cause of one man, has for a time confined their views to one single object, yet I will venture to prophesy, that when the proceedings against this very singular, and in many respects heroic character, shall have been carried to such a point, as to convince the nation in general, of the impossibility, in our present situation, of calling ministers to account, because they secure to themselves a majority in the grand college of the tribunes of Monomotapa, by the lavish distribution of their favours; the alarm will be general, it will extend to the colony of Monoemugi, the

132 *Remonstrance to the King of Monomotapa.*

constitution of the whole empire will be deemed at a crisis and if your royal name is still made use of to stamp an authority on public measures, diametrically opposite to the true interests of king and people, the consequences may prove fatal to both.

Wonder not, O great king! that I have preferred the stile of remonstrance to that of petition; having no private favour to ask, I have presumed to consider your majesty as a man, endued with a rational soul, capable of distinguishing, between sound reasoning and artful sophistry; such a mode of expostulation therefore, as might be pursued in conversation by a modest dependant on an affable, generous patron, seemed to me the most eligible, for conveying my sentiments with manly firmness, and to enable me to steer clear of that abject submission, and disgusting adulation which debases almost every address that is offered to sovereigns.

Your remonstrant, Sire, takes the liberty to represent to you, that under the several administrations which have governed the kingdom of Monomotapa from your majesty's accession to the present hour, some one or more of the enumerated evils already delineated in this remonstrance, have taken place, and that they seem to be all gathering to a head under the present ministry; and as it cannot be consistent either with the honour or the interest of the sovereign, to suffer universal discontent and popular animosity to be kept alive in his dominions, let me advise you to effect that, by their removal, which all the military force of this kingdom, with the superadded rigour of penal laws, will never accomplish: I mean, the restoration of harmony, unanimity and zealous attachment to your majesty's royal person and government. Believe me, Sir, whenever under a sovereign blessed with native goodness of heart, and a benign disposition, like your majesty, the people feel the weight of an undue exertion of the royal prerogative, they will naturally ascribe it to ministerial influence, and in spite of every exertion of the civil or military power, they will loudly and incessantly exclaim against such influence,

fluence, nor will they desist, till their wishes are gratified by a total change of men and measures.

Forbid it, gracious heaven! that the father of his people, born and educated among us, should be any longer accused in our streets, or insulted at our public spectacles, for a supposed tolleration of, or connivance at, the arbitrary principles and oppressive practices of his ministry; or that his subjects should tremble with the apprehension that large strides are making towards reducing them to a state of servile dependance on ministers, and their tools and agents, under their native prince, which was scarce ever experienced during the reigns of monarchs who were born and educated in foreign lands, and who openly avowed the most despotic principles. Let it not be believed that our gracious sovereign will of his own royal motion, give orders to punish with fines, imprisonment, and inquisitorial persecution, every innocent subject who shall dare to assert his native freedom and independance, in opposition to weak, or wicked ministers.

No, Sire, your grateful people are not disposed to judge from appearances; your most amiable private character, and the frequent instances you have given of your great clemency, (which is a princely virtue of distinguished eminence) are the surest guarantees to them, that you will, in due time, make a full display of all those political virtues which complete the character of a great king; in humble expectation of this happy event, they daily offer up to heaven their most fervent prayers, that you may enjoy a long and peaceful reign, accompanied with every earthly felicity; but at the same time they cease not to implore the almighty, "in whose rule and government is the hearts of kings," to inspire you with a speedy, just abhorrence of those men who first spread murmur and discontent through the land; and of the present ministry, whose weakness, cowardice and cruelty, whether they are considered separately in their respective departments, or collectively in a body as an administration, is not to be paralleled in the records of the history of Monomotapa: but above all they solicit

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solicit the omniscient author of our beings, to illumine your mind with the rays of celestial wisdom, that you may clearly discern the dark designs of lordly, ambitious, high priests who basely countenance, under the notion of philanthropy and enlarged notions of toleration, the persons and writings of a sect of christians called Papas, whose religious and political tenets are repugnant to the welfare and prosperity of your dominions, and whose adherents have formerly carried devastation and slaughter into every part of this great empire—They deem the conduct of these priests to be highly injurious to your majesty's person and government—for while they have notoriously discouraged and almost suppressed all inquiries into the numbers of this sect inhabiting the kingdom, and into the designs of their agents, whose writings from the press have been such, that would have procured them heavy punishments, had they appeared in the reign of your predecessor, they have not been wanting to exert an undue influence in your northern colony of Monoemugi, by attempting to disturb the repose, and interrupt the religious liberty of your most loyal subjects the Dissentients, whose ancestors submitted to a voluntary exile from their native country, and encountered every hardship to establish a colony, where they might worship the deity according to the dictates of their own consciences, without being subject to that very hierarchy, which has ineffectually been attempted to be introduced amongst them not long since, and to which perhaps may be ascribed the origin of our unhappy differences with this colony—Permit your remonstrant, Sire, faithfully to remind you, that to the Dissentients of Monomotapa, your illustrious house are in a great measure indebted for your crown, that at the same time that they have been the constant, strenuous assertors of the liberty of the people, they have been the warm friends of limited monarchy, founded on the true principles of the unmutated constitution of their country—I will venture therefore boldly to pronounce, that whatever set of men, whether ecclesiastics or laics, shall presume to make a breach between your majesty and these your loyal, inoffensive subjects, or shall devise any plan to abridge their

their religious and civil liberties, under a specious pretext of asserting and maintaining the dignity of your government, are enemies to his country, and are taking the surest method to annihilate her maritime power and extensive commercial interest, on which her whole strength depends.

It is now high time, before I enter into a regular detail of the several subjects, which in their order will constitute the essence of this remonstrance, that I should lay before your majesty, a sketch or outline of the manners and principles of the inhabitants in general of your ancient kingdom of Monomotapa, in the words of a late celebrated prelate, with a few necessary emendations to suit them to the present hour. "The pretensions and discourses of men throughout the kingdom would, at first view, lead one to think that the inhabitants were all politicians; and yet perhaps political wisdom, (*in the cabinet and in all the departments of government, the supreme excepted,*) hath in no age or country been more talked of or less understood.

"Licence is taken for the end of government, and popular humour for its origin—No reverence for the laws, —(*in the people, because the dispensers of the laws want to stretch them beyond the frame of the constitution to which they are subservient,*)—no attachment to the constitution, (*among the contending courtiers, for it is absorbed in attachment to the emoluments of office*)—little attention to matters of consequence —(*this shall be made apparent in the sequel of this remonstrance*)—great altercation about trifles—(*witness the ministerial, diurnal and nocturnal meetings and conferences independant of the public proceedings, on the persecution of one subject*)—such idle projects about religion and government, as if the public had both to choose—(*this good prelate died before the scheme was proposed for establishing episcopacy in the colony of Monoemugi, or for reducing it to submit to the decrees of the grand college of the tribunes of Monomotapa by force of arms*)—a general contempt of all authority divine and human —(*this certainly could mean a certain secretary of state's letter, by*
any

136 *Remonstrance to the King of Monomotapa.*

“ any construction of grammar or common sense, for happily
 “ the bishop was where all good men would wish to have been, rather than to have lived to read it.)—An indifference about
 “ the prevailing opinions, whether they tend to produce
 “ order or disorder, (*unless the former can be established and*
 “ *the latter quelled by the weight and influence of a leaden bullet,*)
 “ to establish the empire of God or the Devil.”—If this ugly word might be changed by any figure of rhetoric, and be made to signify Plutus, Venus, or Bacchus, we might certainly decide against the prelate, and maintain that our present ministry are very solicitous for establishing the empire of these three divinities, inasmuch that I remember to have seen a letter from a great man to his friend, a boon companion, written much about the time that a worthy general retired from a civil department in the state, which contained this remarkable sentence, or words to the same purport, *My dear R— is there to be a change or not? O how I long to see W——’s name at the bottom of a dispatch, we have been too long governed by those water drinkers, give me the men, qui aiment le rouge, that is to say, claret and burgundy:* if a late writer in the public chronicles of Monomotapa is to be believed, this gentleman’s wish is now accomplished in more than one department of the state.

Let us now my gracious sovereign turn our eyes, from this disgraceful picture of the times, the odium of which the ministry in vain endeavour to fix on the people, since their lives and conversations alone stamp a character on the manners of the nation, and examine with attention, the characteristics of a sound, permanent administration, as they are described to us by the greatest political writers, and take some one or other, or all of your present ministry by the hand, while we make this fair scrutiny.

“ The administration of public affairs, in a limited
 “ monarchy, such as is the realm of Monomotapa, ought
 “ to be committed to several men, illustrious by birth and
 “ education, possessed of ample fortunes as collateral securities for their integrity and incorruptibility, of virtuous,
 “ unsullied characters, and arrived to such a period of life
 that

“ that experience may have matured, early acquired
“ political knowledge : such may be found in every state,
“ and must be chosen independent of all regard to family
“ connections, or party leagues.—Such a select band of
“ great and able men jointly engaged in one adminis-
“ tration, without any preponderating weight thrown into
“ the scale of the chief of any department; and acting
“ independent of one another in their different stations,
“ though with mutual confidence at the council board, is
“ the only model of government suited to the legislature,
“ and to the very genius of the kingdom of Monomo-
“ tapa.

“ Ministers on such a plan are a mutual check on each
“ other, each of them has his distinct set of adherents,
“ but his main support must be, the character he bears in
“ his country.—Such a ministry must act upon popular
“ principles, for it is built upon the only basis likely to
“ secure the people’s affection, and to render it permanent.
“ The just fame such a ministry must acquire will set
“ them above every foolish temptation of pageant ho-
“ nours, of power, or wealth, if to be purchased only,
“ by making a sacrifice of their character. In short, as
“ example is more efficacious, and has more authority than
“ the rigorous exertion of penal laws, or even military
“ execution, the people being animated by the pious cha-
“ racter of their sovereign, exhibited, not only in his own
“ private life, but in his public capacity, by the prudent
“ choice of his ministers; all ranks of men would come
“ into the fashion of leading virtuous lives, the scale
“ would preponderate in favour of morality, there would
“ be little or no temptation to bribery and corruption, men
“ being chosen to high offices for their virtues and abili-
“ ties, would not be necessitated to support themselves in
“ them by such low means; the law would have less occa-
“ sion for officers, executioners, gibbets, proscriptions
“ and outlawries to enforce its decrees, and the empire of
“ love and reason would be universal throughout the king-
“ dom of Monomotapa.”

I find the sensible pleasure which this representation has given your majesty; it ill becomes me to interrupt your important meditations on this pleasing scene, and the less so, as I must demonstrate to your majesty, that, birth and education *misapplied* alone excepted, your present ministry cannot find one single qualification to which they can put in a just claim.—I therefore quit the subject till a more favourable opportunity offers of resuming it.

(To be continued in our next number.)

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

Copy of a Letter from a distinguished Person to Mr. Serjeant Glynn.

SIR,

DECEIVED as I have been, but too recently, with the appearances of truth, virtue, and attachment to the cause of liberty, I cannot deny myself the pleasure of congratulating you on your admission into the great assembly of this nation. An assembly, intended by the ancient constitution both of England and Scotland, to be composed of freely-elected representatives of the people, to sit and to deliberate, for the good of the commonwealth, *by the instruction of their constituents.*

In this view of the commons house of parliament, I am deeply impressed with a sense of its utility, its grandeur, its authority; in any other, I never can think of it without fear or detestation.

If ever that commons house of representatives shall become wholly dependent on the executive part of the nation, through the medium of an insolent and wealthy aristocracy. The elections of knights and burgesses to parliament, conducted by pecuniary or violent measures on the part of government; and peace or war, judgment and justice, determined or affected by a court cabal, our most excellent constitution will be destroyed.

It is with pleasure, Sir, that I perceive, in my retirement from the scenes of government, a just resentment in the people, of their rights and privileges. To support these

these in England and in Scotland, my magnanimous ancestors fought and bled, to support them in similar danger, when attacked, as then they were, unworthy as I am of such originals, I would fight and bleed till I could bleed no more. But it is the manners of the people, Sir, in these times, from whence all my fears arise, and against which, all my opposition is turned.—There is, indeed, “yet” “virtue left in this country,” but it is well nigh extinguished, with respect to the public; whilst the same manners and principles, the same concatenation of purchase and sale of opinion prevail in this nation, all my hopes are centered in virtuous combinations amongst the members of the legislature, or in the mass of the gentry and of the people. Born and educated in this country, I glory *not* in the name of Briton; I glory only in my love of British liberty, virtue, and learning; to support these palladiums of national happiness, I should wish to see great magistrates beloved, and not trusted with any powers, but those of doing good; frugal and simple in their manners, active in the extension of the liberties of the people, *however far removed from the seat of empire*, and endeavouring, by their examples, to render them at once happy and virtuous.

It is to you, Sir, though at such a distance from my silent retreat, that I thus explain myself, sincerely wishing that you may abide in those principles which have so lately brought you a distinguished honour; for my own part, excluded as I am by my birth from one house of parliament, and probably from the other by the complexion of my character, and of my principles, yet even in this situation, or in any situation, if I can live independent, and not altogether useless to the cause of truth, liberty, and learning, I shall think myself happier in holding my own plough, and all the little amusements of a rural retirement, than in dragging along a golden chain at St. J——s’s, with the contemptible prostitutes to modern policy—I will make no apology for this long letter, it is but seldom that I have occasion to address gentlemen in this manner, with whom I am not personally acquainted, and shall therefore only add,

That I am Sir, with truth and regard, yours, &c.

*A Satire on the D— of —'s famous Duplicity, with an
Anecdote recent and remarkable.*

To his G— the D— of —.

My L—d D—,

OURS should seem a wicked, a jesuitical world. In adapting oneself to its measures, it appears that we must wrong, vary, or break off the gnomon of virtuous principle, whilst, upon all occasions, it exacts from us, that we not only pretend, but even appeal to that gnomon; and which is worthy remarking, that too with a sincerity and exactness proportioned to the care and charge we have of its affairs: As if its ideal doctrine was a salve or counterpoise for its actual practice. In this view the world resembled the infamous thieftakers, who tutored villains in order to impeach them. Painful reflection! Thanks to that life, the study of which only hath already removed its problematical cause. I assume not a minute acquaintance with the newly discovered system, of which my intention is for the present only to draw the great lines; submitting the attempt to your Grace, who art the best judge of its merit.

Many were the pains, with which I followed your G— through all the tables and indexes of political astronomy and geography; but were they ten times as many, they are all paid by the one discovery—I mean the four phases of this *our* world, in one or other of which it always is seen. I know not whether your G— and I agree as nomers; my arrangement is—Phase the 1st, governmental; the 2d, dominical; the 3d, natural, and the 4th, deponent.

GOVERNMENTAL. 200 noble; 300 senatorial; 25,000 located; 40,000 coated, red and blue; 45 civilian and 7000 clerical subjects, which with ONE and twenty ladies making exactly 72566 persons, constitute this phase. Si de Republica questio fit, what agitations are produced among them! Each lifts his hands and voice 'ne quid detrimenti capeat'! These are the people then that have the common weal at their hearts. They therefore and no other compose the world *governmental*.

DOMINICAL. 125000 gamblers; 100000 whores, and 50000 panders, let me call them, make together 275000 persons, to whom only the word *world* bears reference on point of honours, taste, fashion, pleasure and life. These exhibit phase the 2d, and constitute the world *dominical*.

NATURAL. When the divine purpose of creating, the laws and ends of community, or the feelings of humanity are predominant, we behold seven million
of

of artificers, labourers and beggars composing phaze the 3d, which very rarely appears; the world in this position is *natural*.

DEPONENT. The rest of the people of this empire, being about eight million in number, are discovered in *our* world's 4th phaze; and they, having little or nothing to do, but think, reflect and feel, denominate the world *deponents*.

No sooner had I gained the verge of this system than a world indeed of seeming absurdities, contradictions and impossibilities vanished! I saw—with instructive pleasure I saw, that the same person, according to declination, or circumstance of mode and time, might become an inhabitant of each of the four phazes, by instantaneous though very natural progression: And in the moment I did so, from the height of my acquisition, I beheld the multitude below distanced in the wilds of astonishment and ignorance.

Yet even here, did not your Grace's progress, like fine writing, convey the rules of its own art and the proofs of its own excellence together, I might have remained perhaps a stranger for ever to the system's interior principles. The first of them, I observe is that, in case of a transit from one phaze to another, the individual translated must act in the phaze entered with equal tone, weight, use and eclat, to what he did in that quitted; for such individual is as liable to be referred to the gnomon of his principles in all the four phazes respectively, as another is in one, to which he may be doomed. To stand then equally acquitted in each is the criterion of greatness; the contemplation whereof cannot fail to puzzle and confound those, who are referable only to one phaze or gnomon, or who are unacquainted with this hypothesis, as the actions, which constitute it, are irreconcilable—parallel lines never to meet! This law or principle not only resolves the problematical appearance, which different actions wear in one person, but is also the field for each individual's comparative excellence; as a tribute then to that master, who enables me thus to write, I beg leave not to forego my admiration of your G—'s talents in the observance of it. Talents, which render you so equally frequent and conspicuous, I had almost said, in all the four phazes at once! I hate, my L—d D—e, to be thought a flatterer or a random shot: I will come to instances, and draw some part of the parallel between your G— in the last or fourth phaze, and your G— in the first phaze. And there, if F—y loved! was a friend! a patron! a patriot! with what admirable equality, O Heaven! hath the minister here set off such
items,

items. If the D—e there was publicly the friend and privately the support of abused Wilkes; is not the *Parole* of the Minion's journeyman here 'the dagger and the bow!' If G— held forth fair candour to Portland, is not the treasurer's chicane alike on black record? If R—'s friend pleaded for the barefoot Americans; would not the enemy of mankind strip them for the lash? In a word; conveying the idea of infinite, if any thing on earth can, the man impeaches himself the minister, the minister empales himself the man,

There is one line, through your G—'s progress, which, you will excuse me, appears as it were, eccentric, or retrograde; though I can have no doubt but it will be found quite otherwise upon explanation. I mean your having sent the other day £500, as a present, out of your own purse to the prostitute P—ps! The conjectures of the ignorant, like the prattle of a child, are often amusing. I will lay mine upon this occasion before your G—e. It was some time before I could fix my compasses; for it occurred to me that P—ps did or did not deserve the money; if he did, *government should* have paid it; if he did not, why should your G— suffer? But I found this center would not do, and imagined the mortgaged situation of the P. P. might have awakened your generosity; then I conceived even old justice would not make the public fear the conscience of a rascal, wounded by crimes committed against itself; I thought it might be owing to your G—'s desire of preventing even government from interfering in a transaction, which was wholly your own. This might have done, but I unfortunately recollected that you were in the 4th phaze when you sent this present *out of your own pocket!*—By Jove, it may do still, and those who know your G—, as well as I do, will agree to it; for your change of countenance in the 4th phaze, will, I pawn my life for it, be attended by an equal change of countenance in the 1st phaze; and, as certain as an eclipse, I now predict the minister in his turn will set off the man, by some yet to happen act of kindness to his hardly-dealt-by quondam. This is a parallax, my l—d—, worthy of yourself! Little did I dream, writing the last paragraph, to find it out in this. Such ability, not only in shifting of phazes, or characters (to use the multitude's word) but of varying them at pleasure, is really astonishing. Your G— may have many rivals, in one phaze or another, but there is none like you great and equally so in all. There is none possessing a talent, which, be its exertion what it will and on whom you please, sets all the world, even Foote himself, a smiling.

The

The arrival of a fair adjourns me to another opportunity of subscribing myself,

Feb. 27th.
1769.

Your G^d's most devoted
Humble servant,
D^m.

*Ministerial Artifice exemplified, in a Letter from
Sir Robert Walpole to his late majesty.*

S I R E,

THE violence of the fit of the stone, which has tormented me for some days, is now so far abated, that although it will not permit me to have the honour of waiting on your majesty, it is yet kind enough to enable me so far to obey your orders, as to write my sentiments concerning that troublesome man Mr. Pultney; and to point out (what I conceive to be) the most effectual method to make him perfectly quiet.

Your majesty well knows how, by the dint of his eloquence he has so captivated the mob, and attained an unbounded popularity, that the most manifest wrong, appears right, when adopted and urged by him. Hence it is, that he is become not only troublesome, but even dangerous. The unthinking multitude believe he has no one object but the public good, although if they would reflect a little, they would soon perceive, that spleen against those your majesty has honoured with your confidence has greater weight with him than real patriotism; since, let any measure be proposed, however salutary, if he thinks it comes from me, it is sufficient for him to oppose it. Thus, Sir, you see, that affairs of the most momentous concern are subject to the caprice of that popular man, and he has nothing to do but to declare it a ministerial project, and bellow out the word *favourite*, to have an hundred pens drawn against it, and a thousand mouths open to contradict it. Under these circumstances he bears up against the ministry (and let me add against your majesty yourself); and every useful scheme must be either abandoned, or if it is carried in either house, the public is made to believe it is done by a corrupt majority.

Since then things are thus circumstanced, it is become absolutely necessary for the public tranquility, that he should be made quiet; and the only method to do that effectually, is to destroy his popularity, and ruin the good belief the people have in him. In order to do this, he must be invited to court; your majesty must condescend to speak to him in the most favourable and distinguishing manner, you must make him believe that he is the only person

person upon whose opinion you can rely, and to whom your people look up for every useful measure. As he has already several times refused to take the lead in the administration, unless it was totally modelled to his fancy, your majesty should close in with his advice, and give him leave to arrange the administration as he pleases, and put whom he chooses in office (there can be no danger in that, as you can dismiss him when you think fit). When he is got thus far, (to which his extreme self-love, and the high opinion he entertains of his own importance, will easily conduce) it will be necessary that your majesty should seem to have a great regard for his health; signify to him that your affairs would be ruined if he should die; that you want to have him constantly near you, to have his sage advice; and that, therefore, as he is much disordered in body, and something infirm, it will be necessary for his preservation, for him to quit the house of commons (where malevolent tempers will be continually fretting him, and where indeed his presence will be needless, as no step will be taken but according to his advice); and that he will let you give him a distinguishing mark of your approbation, by creating him a peer. This he may be brought to: for if I know any thing of mankind, he has a love for honours and money; and notwithstanding his great haughtiness and seeming contempt of honour, he may be won, if it is done with dexterity; for as the poet Fenton said,

Flattery's an oil softens the toughest fool.

If your majesty can once bring him to accept a coronet, all will be over with him; the changing multitude will cease to have any confidence in him; and when you see that your majesty may turn your back upon him, dismiss him from his post, turn out his meddling partisans, and restore things to quiet. For then, if he complains, it can be of no avail; the bee will have lost his sting, and become a drone, whose buzzing nobody heeds.

Your majesty will pardon me for the freedom with which I have given my sentiments and advice; which I would not have done, had you not commanded it; and had I not been certain, that your peace is much disturbed by the contrivances of this turbulent man. I shall only add, that I will dispose several, whom I know to wish him well, to solicit for his establishment in power, that you may seem to yield to their intreaties, and the finesse be the less liable to be discovered. I hope to have the honour to attend your majesty in a few days, which I will do privately, that my public presence may give him no umbrage.

Cr— M—.

R. WALPOLE.

To

To the Publisher of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

I send you a copy of a curious letter, which, though it does not immediately relate to the object of your Monthly Publication, yet may serve to amuse some of your readers, who may be tired with a continual representation of the little dirty machinations of a blundering administration.

You gave a place formerly, to the letters of the *Refless* Philosopher to Mr. D. which are, indeed, charming; and you may now, without any impropriety, give a place to this which is intended to shew, how intimately connected right notions of religion, virtue, liberty, government and learning are, with the principles of the *true Philosopher*.

My dear Friend,

NO appellations have been so much abused, as those of the philosopher, the wise man, the divine man of Plato, the saint of the scriptures, or the great man and fine gentleman of more modern times. You say I am a philosopher, a true philosopher; alas! my friend, you know not what you say; and yet I cannot help thinking, though perhaps from vanity, that you are not so much in the wrong, as those who have imagined, that I am a lover of useless singularity, a bigot, a *mad favourer of lawless democracy*; and, in short, one of the most ridiculous compositions of religion and free-thinking, ambition and self-denial, retirement and dissipation, that ever strutted on the stage of life. As I do not mean this to be my last speech and dying words, it is not necessary that I should enter into a pathetic vindication of all such contradictory and mysterious matters; but I shall endeavour to collect, into one point of view, the character which I have long set up, as my pattern of imitation and model, for thought, word, and action. In that I flatter myself, your own mind will suggest to you, where my vindications are to be found, and the theory of my terrestrial system may, perhaps, in some measure, be reduced to an easy investigation, from the view of that celestial system, which has been so long, and so often grossly misrepresented. And now, lest I should be imperceptibly led to paint my picture of the true philosopher, with colours and graces that might favour my pretensions to resemble it, in some degree, or in some feature of conduct, I shall compose it like a piece of tapestry from arras, of various parts. There is a most ingenious

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writer,

writer, the Chevalier Ramsay, who has saved me a great deal of trouble in this composition, by collecting the perfections of this character into one general description; to which I shall add a few from other authors, and my own observation.

“ The divine man, produces not the shadows of virtue, but the virtues themselves, and practises all the social and civil duties, in a constant imitation of the divine veracity, goodness, and justice. He is not only sincere, in never saying but what is true, but he is also simple and candid to that degree, that he does homage to truth, when necessary, at the expence of his own self-love.—He is not only sincere, but also simple *with prudence* and precaution. Sincerity never says nor shows what is not; simplicity, a far more noble and exalted virtue, says and shows what is, without vanity, affectation, or self-love. Enamoured with the beauty of truth, he feeds upon it within, *and does not affect to dazzle, overpower, and shine in company, to show his wit and display his talents.* He speaks, only to discover truth, and discovers it only to make it beloved. He proportions it, however, to the capacity of those with whom he converses, and insinuates it into their minds so delicately and imperceptibly, that their self-love is not offended. In communicating his opinions, or his knowledge, he does violence to none; affects not to make proselytes, does not erect wisdom into a *pharisaical scheme for a sect*, and has no false zeal of reducing others to his way of thinking. This circumstance renders him disagreeable; or, at best, indifferent to *high-church priests* and pedants, and to all *fiery sectaries*. He will be called a trimmer, a temporiser, an unsteady person; one who is not to be trusted, because he will not follow implicitly, *any drove of monopolizers in religion, learning, or politics.*—Persuaded that God alone can enlighten the understanding, and change the heart, he tolerates all men, as God tolerates them, and yet without deeming all indifferent, doubtful, or lawful. The sovereign love of justice, produces in him all noble sentiments and heroic virtues. He gives not only to every one what is due, but he sacrifices himself, and divests himself of all, when the love of justice demands it; for this reason, *he will engage himself in the greatest difficulties, and deny himself a thousand enjoyments, for the ease and welfare of his family.* He does not look on himself as an independent being, made for himself alone. Penetrated with a sense of his being only a member of that universal republic, of which God is the common head and father, he prefers always public, to private interest. He loves his family more than himself; his

“ coun-

country, more than his family. *The universal and indefeasible rights of mankind, and their happiness, he prefers to the honour and glory of his native country.* The Being of Beings he loves more than all his creatures : in whatever state he is, therewith he is content. He envies no man, covets nothing ; jealousy has no empire over his soul. He sees in others, talents, virtues and perfections, honours, riches, temporal and intellectual advantages, with pleasure, complacency, and joy ; because he looks upon all, as the wise dispensations of unerring wisdom. He is a true friend to exalted, disinterested religion, the divine philosophy of the soul, to liberty and to learning ; and is constantly employed in endeavouring to prevent them from being abused and repressed, under a false pretext of aversion to enthusiasm, licentiousness, and pedantry. This struggle for liberty, will gain him successively, or united, all these appellations which he deserves not ; but he will smile at the folly of his enemies, and endeavour to undeceive them, by a long course of consistent conduct. The life of such a man, will resemble that of others, who act from principles of a baser nature, for the advantages of fame, ease, and security in society, and from self-love : but whilst in these particulars he resembles them, all is light, and life, and love, within him ; and all his thoughts, and words, and actions, participate of that light, that life, that love. He bears all, suffers all, supports all, sympathizes with all ; knowing that the world is a great hospital, wherein every man has his particular disease. He is severe to himself alone, and tender towards others : he does not exaggerate their faults ; is not easily shocked with their weaknesses ; has no bitter zeal against them, and never looks upon them in a false light, to criticise and oppose what is disagreeable and defective in their characters : he studies the dispositions, humour and capacities of every one, in order to accommodate himself to all ; he weeps with those that weep, rejoices with those that rejoice ; and if natural talents be joined with more than ordinary graces, *he rises up to the highest, descends to the lowest*, and proportions himself to all ; not to flatter, to deceive, to become the idol of men, and make them subservient to his passions, but to *tame and reform* them, and make them at once happy and virtuous.

His politeness is a perpetual self-forgetfulness, and sacrifice of his own will, which constitutes one of the most charming attributes of the amiable man ;—it consists not in grimace, and outward troublesome attentions, but in an inward sweetness of soul, that makes him please without

“ *adulation, falsehood, or affectation.* He affects no outward, harsh austerity of manners; he enters into the innocent joys of others, *contributes to their harmless pleasures,* and endeavours to amuse them, without abandoning himself to dissipation or inordinate transports. In love to that delightful sex, the fountain of the highest pleasures that this world can bestow, if not abused, he is not surpassed by any; but he loves with delicacy, respect, and esteem; he does not degrade his being, by brutal methods of enjoying the greatest of all satisfactions that God has given to mankind, to soften and mitigate the chains of his exile; he loves with constancy, and would forego all things, but his loyalty to God and to his country, his regard for truth, delicacy, and righteousness of action, for the sake of the woman that loves him tenderly, and is worthy of his love. He is not only capable and desirous of enjoying the highest pleasures of domestic life, but is worthy of them, and of the greatest love and pleasure that a woman can bestow.—

It is impossible I can say any more, my dear friend, in defence of my favourite character; an approach to which, is all that can be expected in the dirty path of society, as it is now situated. It is, however, a character which I have always endeavoured to imitate, and that fills me with a kind of divine fervor, when I think of it.

It is to you, my dearest friend, that I thus explain myself: you know me, you love me; you have given me the most unparalleled proofs of your affection. Your caresses have rendered me indifferent about all those things that I ought to despise; and I would forego, like the true philosopher, all things for you, if it were possible. But what can be done, as things are now situated? Would you reduce me to all the miseries of my father's life? Would I reduce you to all the miseries of seeing me miserable? Ah, no! better a life of regret, than a life of continual difficulties, and temptations to impiety and sordid deviation from what is right. Endeavour every hour, day, and period of your life, to become more and more worthy to live with a true philosopher, and then you will be the better able to ward off all the slings and arrows of that outrageous fortune, that obliges me to subscribe myself only,

Your affectionate friend,

D.

For

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

Lettre de Clement XIII. à Mustapha III.

CLEMENT par la miséricorde divine, serviteur des serviteurs, à notre ami zélé MUSTAPHA, empereur des Turcs, salut. C'est avec bien du plaisir que nous apprenons que vous avez pris notre cause en main pour rétablir les pauvres catholiques de Pologne dans leurs droits exclusifs, violés par les Russes à force ouverte. La religion semble bannie de presque tous les états, autrefois soumis au saint siege ; les Jésuits, ces saints et savans personages, les plus fermes soutiens de mon empire persécutés, chassés des principaux royaumes de l'Europe ; les protestans de toute dénomination, jouissant en Pologne des mêmes privileges que mes zélés partisans ; les braves confédérés obligés, ou de fuir devant les Russes, nation cruelle et barbare, ou de périr pour la religion de leurs peres ; mes propres états envahis à main armée, et les lis gravés sur les portes d'Avignon ; mes propres sujets révoltés contre moi, tout annonçoit le renversement de mon trône ; mais, grâces au prophete, la religion trouve de zélés défenseurs parmi les Mahométans. Grand Sultan ! vous êtes le plus ferme soutien du saint siege.

Après en avoir conféré avec nos très vénérables freres les cardinaux, ces prélats de la sainte église catholique, apostolique, et Romaine, ont été d'avis de vous adresser cette lettre pour vous témoigner combien nous vous sommes redevables de tout ce que vous faites pour nous ; et par ces présentes, après avoir pris l'avis de ces mêmes très-vénérables freres les cardinaux, comme votre loi vous empêche de jouir de nos indulgences plénieres, et que nous ne voulons rien innover sur cet article, nous vous confirmons les droits de votre sérail, avec le pouvoir de choisir les plus belles femmes pour peupler le Harem : en conséquence nous vous permettons la pluralité des femmes, à vous et à tous vos sujets sans exception ; et même, nous leur accordons le pouvoir d'en prendre autant qu'ils feront en état de nourrir ; mais comme le plus grand privileges peuvent, avec le temps, devenir onéreux à ceux qui-en jouissent, considérant d'ailleurs l'inconstance et la foiblesse des hommes, de peur qu'ils ne se dégoutent de ce grand nombre des femmes, nous leur permettons de pouvoir les répudier, et ensuite les reprendre si bon leur semble. Nous vous permettons encore (car nous dispensons des lois de Dieu, à plus forte raison pouvons nous dispenser de celles d'un de ses prophetes) de boire du vin en abondance, même en public, pour obvier tout scandal ; car il nous a été rapporté que les Musulmans

Musulmans n'étoient pas fort scrupuleux sur cet article, et qu'en particulier la loi du prophete ne les gênoit en rien. Pour ce qui est de la circoncision, nous ne pouvons qu'en blâmer l'usage, surtout à l'âge de sept ans : mais pour vous montrer combien nous sommes sensibles à tout ce que vous faites pour nous, il vous est permis par ces présentes de continuer à couper le prépuce, en tout temps, à qui vous jugerez à propos.

Nous n'avons qu'une grâce à vous demander : comme nos vénérables freres les cardinaux se proposent de faire une calvalcade, pour la rendre plus solennelle, nous avons résolu de doubler nos selles de poils de barbe. Ordonnez, grand Sultan ! quoiqu'en dise votre Alcoran, à tous vos sujets de couper leurs barbes ; faites en des balots que vous nous enverrez par la route de Venise : ne vous inquiétez pas de la quantité : Après que les selles seront bien remplis de poils de barbe, nous en picquerons nos matelats, ce que certainement vaudra mieux à droite et à gauche pour saluer les deux anges que vous croyez être toujours à vos côtés,, l'un pour vous porter au bien, l'autre pour vous accuser du mal que vous pouvez avoir fait, après en avoir conféré avec le sacré college, nous croyons et enjoignons, sous peine d'excommunication, à tous les fideles, du quelque âge, sexe, et condition qu'ils soient, de croire que vous pouvez, au défaut de barbe, vous prendre le menton, n'étant qu'une chose de pure cérémonie.

Pour reconnoître tous ces signalés services que nous demandons à votre hauteesse, sachant combien vos sujets aiment la pipe, nous leur permettons de fumer pendant le jour dans le temps du Ramadan, au lieu d'aller la nuit parfumer les caffés et faire débauche, ce qui est contraire à la loi du Ramadan. Nous sommes surpris que les images tiennent le premier rang parmi les choses qui vous sont défendues : vous avez des statues, des pyramides, et des obélisques ; de grâce, accordez la même faveur aux peintres, que vous ne refusez pas au sculpteurs : nous ne pouvons concevoir cette bisarrerie de votre part. Il est permis d'avoir chez soi le portrait de son pere, de sa mere, de son ami, de son chien, de son chat, &c. pourquoi seroit-il défendu d'avoir le portrait d'un saint Musulman ?

Pour

Pour vous engager à nous accorder nos demandes, et pour vous prouver combien nous sommes portés à vous donner des preuves de notre reconnoissance, nous vous accordons, de notre propre mouvement, pleine et entiere liberté, à commencer de la date des présentes, de manger la chair de pourceaux, les grenouilles, les tortues, les limaçons, les écrivisses, &c. Nous vous souhaitons un long et heureux regne, la victoire sur vos ennemis et les nôtres, et qu'après votre mort, les deux anges noirs descendant dans la fosse, viennent vous prendre par le toupet de vos cheveux, et vous transportent dans le paradis de votre prophete, avec le béliet d'Abraham, le veau de Moyse, la fourmie de Salomon, le perroquet de la reine de Saba, l'âne de Balaam, la baleine de Jonas, et le chameau de Mahomet.

Donné au Vatican, le premier jour de mois de Décembre, l'an de grâce, mil sept cent soixante-huit, et de notre pontificat le onzieme.

The Translation.

CLEMENT by the grace of God, servant of servants, to our zealous friend MUSTAPHA, emperor of the Turks, greeting. 'Tis with the highest satisfaction, that we have received the agreeable news, that you have taken our cause in hand, in order to restore to the poor catholicks of Poland their exclusive rights and privileges, violated by the Russians by force of arms. The catholick religion seems to be banished from almost all the dominions formerly in subjection to the holy see, the Jesuits thote holy and learned men, the firmest support of my persecuted empire, driven from the principal kingdoms of Europe, the protestants, of all denominations, enjoying the same privileges in Poland, with my own zealous adherents; the brave confederates obliged to fly before the Russians (a barbarous and cruel nation) or to perish for the religion of their ancestors; my own dominions invaded by a military force, and the arms of France affixed to the gates of Avignon; my own subjects revolting from me, every thing denouncing and threatening the subversion of my throne: but, thanks to your prophet, my religion has found a zealous defender in the Mahometans—Great sultan, thou art the most firm support of the holy see.

After having conferred with our most venerable brothers the cardinals, these prelates of our most holy, catholick, apostolick, Roman church, have advised me to address this epistle to your imperial highness, in testimony of the repeated favours in which we hold ourselves indebted for the many signal services, which you have done in our cause; and
by

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

A succinct account of two cases (which were in agitation in the Irish house of commons, in 1753) nearly similar with two recent ones.

IN the glorious 1753, (as the country party styled that year,) the session opened with a complaint, heavily urged by one Mr. Lambert, one of the house, against Dr. Andrews, who had challenged that member as he was going to parliament, within the precincts of the house; in consequence of which, Doctor Andrews, was, in less than an hour, taken into custody, and coming before the bar, was reprimanded by the speaker (who ordered him to kneel) in the following words,

“ Doctor Andrews, you now appear before this august assembly the highest court of this kingdom, to answer for a very high crime and misdemeanour, offered, through the perion of Mr. Lambert a member of this house, to the whole body of the commons.—You yourself were one of the constituents, whose vote returned Mr. Lambert to his seat in parliament; you stoppt him in the very precincts of the house, and told him, you were sorry your vote was so unguarded, as, among others, to have chosen him your representative; you stoppt him, sir, in the very attendance and on the necessary and indispensable attendance of his parliamentary duty, in the very act of going to represent you, as well as your brother constituents: it became him to resent this behaviour so unbecoming your own character as a gentleman of fortune and learning, but the more unbecoming as one of the senior fellows of your respectable university, a superintendent over the morals and education of the young gentlemen intrusted to your care; your situation in life, your happy affluence in fortune, with your known abilities in learning, together with your knowledge of our laws and constitution of which you have been long a doctor, might surely have been the greatest check upon the warmest of passions, *revenge*, since your exemplary life has hitherto been an honour to yourself, as well as to the university of which you are a member: but at once, no doubt premeditatedly, to break through the fence of those laws, and to give so full and unlimited a scope to your revenge, as to enter into the very premises of blood and murder, is a crime so unpardonable here, that we cannot remit it; the Insult was offered to this whole house; hear your sentence,

“ No

"No rank or condition of life, birth, title or quality, can exempt you or any man from the rigour and the penalty : you are to be imprisoned in the prison of Newgate during the pleasure of this house, and to be fined two thousand pounds, without bail, for no security whatever will be admitted ; take him into custody."

However, on the solicitation of Mr. Lambert with other members, joined by his own repeated contrition, he was commanded to ask pardon of the whole house in general, and Mr. Lambert in particular, and accordingly discharged, having paid the usual fees.

Then the house proceeded to the national business.

There was, in this year 1753, a surplus of about a hundred, and seventy four thousand pounds, remaining after having paid off the national debt : this was demanded by the then lord lieutenant, the d— of D—, for the use of his majesty, but the speaker, who was also chancellor of the exchequer, absolutely refused it as chancellor, urging, that no minister, under any colour or specious pretext, should extort, and then sport with the public money, for that such money belonged naturally and most rightfully to the uses of the kingdom, and not to be dissipated in the train of English elections, which were then on the eve of approaching.— After many altercations, that business was postponed, and one Nevil Jones, a member of the house, an officer in the army, (I think a colonel) and barrack-master general, was accused by the country party for having embezzled the public money (intended for keeping the barracks of the kingdom in sound repair) and suffering them to fall to ruins.— Several officers and others proved the allegations to be true, and the ruinous condition of the barracks : He pleaded error in judgment, and his being imposed on by the workmen under him, but his plea was not admitted, and he was expelled by a majority of only five members, so great was the struggle. This disagreeable circumstance so irritated the court party, who had made Nevil Jones a chipping-block, on which to try their power, that soon after the money-bill came on, and this being carried, by much the same majority, the court-party growing desperate, soon, by the means of the lord lieutenant, had this opposition of the country patriots represented to the royal ear, as if it was an opposition to government by a set of Jacobites, as the ministry called the country party, and they were all, or most of them, divested of their

offices, except the speaker, who accepted the earldom of Shannan, with 3000*l* a year pension, and then resigned the chair, in favour of the earl of Besborough's son, Mr. Ponsonby, a strong partisan for the court; but Mr. Boyle did not resign till he had made provision for some of his own favourites, and that the displaced gentlemen were re-established.—When Mr. James Cusse a member of the house and of the country party came to the earl of Shannan, he waggishly asked him, if he had made any provision for him? For you! replied the earl, you are a gentleman of seven thousand a year and want no place I am assured—yes, said Mr. Cusse, one place I shall request that you will procure me, and that is his majesty's upholsterer—Why, said the earl? Why! That I may make a new cushion for the new speaker, as I am sure, he will (otherwise) sit upon thorns.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

THOUGH Cromwell, like Julius Cæsar and his adopted nephew Augustus, seemed, like virgins, to refuse the objects of his wishes, yet it is very evident, that to gain those very wishes was the *ultimum solum*, the central point of his ambition.

It was certainly in the power of the first, by the great interest he had, in the civil and military, to have done as he pleased—as for the clergy, they were not in his figures, as he looked upon them as so many cyphers: and, possibly, it was well for England, that after the long and inactive reign of James I. and Charles I. that such a spirited genius did arise and awake the island from that epidemic lethargy, which had possessed the minds of most people.

Though it must be granted, to the praise of Mr. Cromwell (a private gentleman at first) that, as he did not live in the days of dissipation like these, so did he very coolly and deliberately enter into the train of national disquietude with calmness, sedateness, and an apparent composure, with an exterior view to bring all the rays of political contraversion into their natural focus. Had Wat Tyler, and those concerned with him in their riotous assembly, been possessed with the thousandth part of his experience and abilities, they might possibly have succeeded in their unwarranted attempt against Richard II. and his legal sovereignty.

The

The unhappy cause of any of these unhappy divisions found the source in favourites; 1. Mortimer. 2. Buckingham. 3. Stafford, &c.

Taxation and favourites go hand in hand.——

Anecdote.

When Oliver Cromwell had obtained the sovereign rule and young Charles had been worsted, it then became dangerous for any, even the nobles, to leave the kingdom, without the protector's leave.—He had a strong suspicion of their cabals, and therefore most persons thought it the safer way to wait upon the protector by way of compliment and address.

A young nobleman, entirely in the interest of Charles II. came to pay his respects, and the protector, with his usual sedateness, said, "Well—let me see you soon again, but don't see Charles Stuart."—"I will not, upon my honour," replied the young nobleman.

The nobleman soon returned, and coming to pay his duty to the protector, Oliver snatched his hat out of his hands, and with a penknife quickly cut open the lining, and from the inside took out several letters and papers directed to the friends of Charles, O shame! cried Oliver, is this the way the English nobles keep their honour? Did not you promise me not to see Charles Stuart?—"I never did," said the nobleman.—Then, says Cromwell, *who put out the candle*, you, or Charles? for Oliver had cunningly contrived to put a spy of his own, into the lord's service who discovered that the king had put out the light.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

Case of the celebrated Mr. Hambden,

THE odious principles, which exalted the royal prerogative were put in practice all the time of King Cha. I. he ruled without a parliament, and he raised money either by the revival of obsolete laws, or open violation of the privileges of the nation; though gentle in his own nature, yet he connived at the most flagrant severities in the star-chamber, and high commission, with a view to support the new-adopted measures of the ministry, and restrain the rising spirit of liberty through the nation. Tonnage and poundage were levied by the royal authority, and people began

began seriously to believe there was an end of all parliaments; all former impositions were exacted with rigour, and even new arbitrary ones were added. The council gave orders to the custom house officers to enter any house, warehouse, or cellar, to search any trunk, or chest, and to break any lock whatever, in case of non-payment of customs; compositions were made with all recusants, and even the popish religion became a regular part of the revenue, a commission was granted for compounding with such as were possessed of crown lands, under defective titles, and large sums were thus extracted from the people. There was a law of Edward II. that whoever was possessed of 20*l.* a year in land, should be obliged, when summoned, to appear and receive the order of knighthood. Twenty pounds, at that time, was equivalent, partly by changing the denomination, and partly in the value of money, to 200 in the sixteenth and seventeenth century; and it seemed just, that the king should not insist strictly on the letter of the law, and oblige people of such small revenues to accept of that expensive honour. Edward VI. and queen Elizabeth, who had both made use of this expedient to raise money, had summoned only those possessed of forty pounds a year, and upwards, to receive the order of knighthood, or compound for their neglect; and Charles, imitated their example, by granting the same indulgence. Commissioners were appointed for fixing the rates of composition, and to them were instructions given, not to accept of a less sum, than would have been due by the person, to a tax of three subsidies and a half. How much the people were indisposed to these arbitrary measures of the crown, appears from their loudly complaining of an expedient, founded on positive statute, and warranted by such recent precedents; all the severities of this reign, the rigorous fines exacted by the star-chamber and high commission were exercised with unremitting harshness. Lilburn was accused before the star-chamber of publishing and dispersing libels; he was ordered to be examined, but he refused to take the oath, usual in that court, that he would answer interrogatories, by which he might be led to accuse himself; for this contempt, so construed by the court, he was condemned to be whipt, pilloried, and imprisoned; while he was whipping at the cart, and stood in the pillory, he harangued the people, and declaimed violently against the tyranny of bishops; from his pockets too, he scattered papers, which were construed into libels. The star-chamber, who were sitting at that very time, ordered him to be gagged: he was brought to his trial anew, and

and condemned to be imprisoned in a dungeon and to be loaded with irons. It was found very difficult to break the spirits of men, who placed both their honour and conscience in suffering, — which brings us to the case of Mr. John Hambden, who by his spirit and courage, had deservedly acquired universal popularity through the nation, and has merited great applause with posterity by the bold and noble stand which he made in defence of the laws and constitution of his country. After laying on the tax of ship-money, Charles, in order to discourage all opposition, had proposed the legality of it to the judges; these guardians of the laws and liberties of the people, agreed to reply, that it was legal in a case of necessity, and that the king was the sole judge of that necessity. Mr. Hambden of Buckinghamshire was rated, as his proportion, at the rate of twenty shillings, for an estate which he held in that county, yet he bravely resolved with a truly patriotic soul, unbiassed by any principle of rancour and obstinacy, notwithstanding the judgment of the corrupt lawyers and judges, to stand a legal prosecution, and to expose himself to the indignation of an irritated king, and the virulence of a corrupt court, rather than tamely submit to so illegal an imposition. The case was argued during the space of twelve days in the exchequer chamber, before all the judges of England, and the nation regarded every circumstance of this celebrated trial with uncommon anxiety and concern. It was urged by Hambden's council, that it was vain to plead necessity of such a tax, since it is the nature of necessity to break through all law, and by irresistible violence, to dissolve all the weaker and more artificial ties of human society, all orders of men are then sure to be levelled: but to produce so violent an effect, and so hazardous to every community, an ordinary danger or necessity is not deemed sufficient; much less a necessity which is merely factitious and unreal; where the danger or necessity is urgent, it would soon appear palpable and open to every individual and therefore to the whole body of the nation; and though all the ancient rules of government are at such a time abrogated, men will readily, and of themselves submit to that irregular authority, which is exerted for their preservation; but, continued his council, what is there in common between such suppositions, and the present condition of the nation? England, said they, enjoys a profound peace with all her neighbours, and what is more, all her neighbours are engaged in a bloody and furious war among themselves, what then can be said for a plea of necessity founded on chimera and wantonness? &c. &c.

Hambden

Hambden however gained his point in the end, for which he had so generously sacrificed his own proper safety, both in person and fortune.—The people were roused from their lethargy, and saw plainly the shackles which were framing for them; these national disquisitions were canvassed in every company, and men saw with their own eyes and not by artificial optics, that the laws of their country were sacrificed, and the government at the eve of being totally subverted, while an unusual authority, and a novel usurpation of the laws displayed all over the kingdom. Never did such public joy appear on every face, never were such rejoicings known, not even at the coronation of Charles, as now appeared on the casting the king in his own courts, and the portrait and prints of Hambden and liberty appeared every where, while new signs of his picture were placed at every tavern and public house.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

Remarks on Signs and Sign-posts.

I Had been absent from London some years; on my return, though I was well acquainted with that magnificent metropolis, its environs, contours, and sequestered purlieus, alleys, lanes, &c. yet, did I at first think myself in some other great city; I had left it *ordained* (in the clerical style) in *orders*—But how great was my disappointment, when I experimentally found that this *paragon* of cities was stripped of her gown!—

Emblazoned as she was with all the drapery of signs, and other *indigitations*, by which to manifest her various departments, she was at my entrance divested of every visible *signature*; not a *sign-post*, standing, but every sign *posted* like *play-bills*.

As I had been at sea, I knew better how to find a harbour by the signs of the Zodiac, than to find out my old lodgings. I asked the first porter I met, where were all the signs that used to *hang* in the various streets of London? His answer was at once *pertinent* and *impertinent*; “That others were to be hanged in their places.”—

I left him, and asked the next I met, which was the sign of the *King's-Arms*? His reply was, “At the *tolbooth* in *Edinburgh*;—and where, I continued, is the sign of the *Highland-man*? “Somewhere near St. *J—s's*,” was his answer.

A poor

A poor orange-woman, of whom I enquired for a certain *sign* in *Charing-cross*, very *politely* told me, that there was but one sign standing in that place; and that it stood more in the way, than all the other signs which had been taken down; but, truly says she, if you would find any sign you want, you must go into the channel-dirt, and gaze upwards, to discover; for the *signs* of London are now become *Knights of the Post*—and, indeed, I soon found what she said was partly true.

I then took a distinct view (under the peril of my limbs) of the signs, placed like so many dials, which suggested to me the idea of a parcel of *court-cards*, appositely shuffled, to blind the novice in gaming.

AN IMPARTIAL REVIEW OF NEW BOOKS, PAMPHLETS, &c.

The National Debt no National Grievance; or, the real state of the nation, with respect to its civil and religious liberty, commerce, public credit and finances; interspersed with critical remarks on a pamphlet, intitled, *The Present State of the Nation*: to which are added, Proposals for improving the public revenue, and for raising a fund for the exigencies of war, without laying additional taxes on the public. Addressed to the people of England. By a Financier, 8vo. 2s. 6d. *Wilkie*.

THE celebrated pamphlet, intitled, *The Present State of the Nation*, has given birth to two very important productions; that which we have now under consideration, and a more elaborate treatise which has but just made its appearance, and will immediately follow the discussion of this article.

The writer of the *National Debt no National Grievance*, &c. in a short advertisement prefixed to his pamphlet, informs us, “that he “stopt the press, on reading repeated advertisements, promising a “speedy publication of *Observations on a late State of the Nation*; conscious of his own inability, and at the same time of the necessity of “giving the nation such a true and impartial account of public affairs, as might serve to remove the groundless fears and apprehensions raised in the minds of men, and especially of the stock-holders, by the pamphlet, intitled, *The Present State of the Nation*, he “would have resigned the pleasing task to an abler pen; but a considerable time having elapsed since those advertisements were first inserted, and no *Observations* having yet appeared, he thought it his “duty to proceed in his design.”—The *Observations* have, however, at length, been published; and as we are justified by this modest declaration of our author, we must take the liberty to say, that they seem to be wrote by abler pens, the article on PUBLIC CREDIT, and some strictures on a few branches of commerce excepted, which he has treated in a manner, that adds greatly to his reputation as a writer on these subjects.

In a prefatory address to his fellow citizens and countrymen, we find this striking animadversion on the general taste for politics, which prevails among all ranks of men in Great-Britain.

"The author of *The Present State of the Nation*, says, you are a people impatient of rule, and despising all authority—but I am willing to acquit you on easier terms, and to believe, that the dangerous and doubtful wars you have been plunged in, since the revolution, and the numerous taxes that have been levied on the nation to support them, have given birth to that inquisitive spirit for news and politics you have shewn for some years past, *meaning the common people*, in like manner as the accumulated property in the public funds, created by those exigencies of the state, has immersed the rich and opulent among you, in the same political fountain. The fluctuations occasioned in the stocks by the *rise and fall* of administrations, make *them* ever attentive and deeply engaged in discoursing and writing on public affairs—and the sensation of your taxes operates the same effect on *you*. Sound politicians and able statesmen will not therefore blame you, for this spirit of inquiry into the state of national affairs, while it keeps within the bounds of decency and good order. I will go farther; they will allow it to be laudable, as it animates you to be bolder champions in your country's cause, when called forth in its defence against a common enemy; for you would never think English ground worth contending for, if it was not for the pre-eminence of English rights and privileges, which can only be known and understood by political inquiry and political comparison of your situation, with that of the subjects of less happy realms."

This is a very decent apology for all political writings from the press; and for every little essay on the same subject, which appears in our news-papers, though evidently dictated by private commercial views and interests; and is the severest reprimand on the present, and on every ministry that exercises a tyrannical power to restrain and curtail the liberty of the press: it is not mere opposition, but very often extensive commercial connections, a large funded interest, a deep-felt cause, which produces warm expostulations from the press, on the conduct of statesmen; and therefore a British ministry, holding up the scourge of the penal laws upon every occasion, when their conduct is exposed, ought to be held in the utmost horror and detestation by king and people.

Our author has taken great pains to extract, from the best political writers, the most unexceptionable definitions of civil and religious liberty, with a view to convince his readers, that the mob have entertained false notions of both; and to prove, that in free states, the people must be the cause of the introduction of slavery, if it is introduced at all, by submitting to be corrupted: venal statesmen, corrupt parliaments, and all the probable evils that can happen in a free state, are charged on the people, who, departing from the characteristics of
a maritime

a maritime, commercial people, viz. sobriety, industry, and frugality, and indulging themselves in idleness and extravagance, thereby open the door to bribery and corruption, to supply the wants occasioned by these vices. He next considers some branches of commerce which he proves to be highly detrimental to the nation, however profitable to individuals—such as the exportation of horses to France, whereby all the French cavalry are now well mounted, and of ordnance stores, such as new-cast cannon, balls, and small-arms for their infantry.

But the main point happily accomplished in this pamphlet, is, the removal of the alarms and apprehensions, which the author of *The Present State of the Nation* had rendered universal among the stockholders or proprietors of the public funds, by giving a dismal account of our exhausted finances, and the insufficiency of the balance of our trade to pay the interest of our national debt to foreigners, and to provide for the future exigencies of the state, while this state of the revenue remained unrefuted, the most dangerous consequences were to be dreaded—foreigners taking the hint, might sell out of our funds, and both natives and foreigners might be induced to withdraw their confidence from the state, and to refuse their money, on future emergencies, to a people, whose PUBLIC CREDIT began to be on its decline.

The limits of our work, will not admit of an extract of the whole chain of our author's reasoning on this subject, by which he fully re-establishes the character of our PUBLIC CREDIT: suffice it to observe, that, in opposition to some bold assertions of the author of *The Present State of the Nation*, he fairly proves, that our foreign and domestic trade is not on the decline, but in a flourishing condition: that the weight of the taxes has not so far enhanced the price of our manufactures, as to occasion a diminution of demand from abroad; that considering we have never been in possession of amassed treasures, the resources of ancient states, and that perennial ways and means were found inadequate to the large supplies required for carrying on our late wars; no other means could be devised, but those of raising them on the basis of public credit; and he concludes the subject in these words:—

“ At present, permit me to exult, not to weep over the NATIONAL DEBT, and to pronounce it a lasting monument to latest posterity, of the glory of Great-Britain—an indelible record of the public good faith of the three estates of this ancient realm, in their political capacity; and of the integrity, industry and commercial spirit of the inhabitants of this little island, by which they were enabled to contract so large a debt, not solely of each other, but of the subjects of all the neighbouring states; and to command all the unemployed money in Europe, to pay her fleets and armies, during an extensive and doubtful war.”

The pamphlet closes with the out-lines of several plans for the improvement of the revenue, which, as they are only sketches, we leave

to the inspection of those who have leisure to peruse them; only remarking, that all proposals of this nature, merit the attention of those who have the management of the public revenues.

Observations on a late State of the Nation. 4to. 3s. 6d. Doddsley.

THE public expectation is at length fully answered: after a tedious delay of some months, for which no apology is given, this very accurate, laborious, and complete refutation of *A late State of the Nation*, has made its appearance; and if ever the golden rule of *Audi alteram partem*, had more peculiar force on one occasion than another, it certainly is in the case before us: We have now heard the other side of the question from two different writers—the author of *The National Debt no National Grievance*, &c. and the authors of the pamphlet which engages our present attention; who concur in many points; and in some, the very same chain of argument, and indeed almost the same words are made use of, so that if we were not assured of the contrary from very good authority, we should be apt to conclude they had all conferred together. They agree in one point, to which all rational men must subscribe, that the author of *The late State of the Nation* has not acted the part of a good subject, or done justice to his country, by exposing her weak and defenceless state to her enemies, the united branches of the house of Bourbon, whom he himself represents as ready to break with us, on the first favourable occasion.

“If the facts and reasonings in this piece, say the authors of *The Observations*, are admitted, it is all over with us. The continuance of our tranquility depends upon the compassion of our rivals. “Unable to secure to ourselves the advantages of peace, we are at the same time utterly unfit for war. It is impossible, if this state of things be credited abroad, that we can have any alliance; all nations will fly from so dangerous a connection. If it is believed at home, all that firmness of mind, and dignified national courage, which used to be the great support of this isle against the powers of the world, must melt away, and fail within us;”—and if false, how foul his guilt, who would endeavour to sound such an alarm concerning his country, through all the realms of Europe, for such pamphlets, as the author of *The National Debt no National Grievance* justly observes, are bought up with avidity, by the ministers and agents of foreign powers.

The Observations are evidently the work of two pens, and the piece has two objects in view: the refutation of *The late State of the Nation*, and a defence of the marquis of Rockingham’s administration. The first is happily accomplished by a chain of close reasoning, but with great inaccuracy and defect in style: the last is a master-piece, in point of composition; and if the administration of the Marquis was conducted on the principles he lays down, I am afraid the nation will hardly

hardly find another, that will equally merit public support and royal confidence*. But as it may admit of some dispute, whether these principles were uniformly pursued or not, we shall postpone the consideration of this part of the work, till we have heard the rejoinder or reply, which, in all probability, will be given by the friends of the present administration, and of the Grenville party.

The first and principal object, the refutation of the *late State of the Nation*, is thus pursued, by the writer of this part of *The Observations*: he traces him through all the principles of war, peace, trade, and finances; remarking, that if his notions should *crawl* from pamphlets into counsels, and be realized from private speculation into national measures, they cannot fail of hastening and compleating our ruin. If, says he, “the appearances of triumph over France in the last war were only *fallacious*, and the ministry of 1763 made the peace, because they discovered the delusion, to what purpose in any cause shall we hereafter contend with her? If on our part, in a war the most prosperous ever carried on, by sea and by land, in every part of the globe, attended with the unparalleled circumstance of an immense increase of trade, and augmentation of revenue; if a continued series of disappointments, disgraces, and defeats, followed by public bankruptcy on the part of France—if all these still leave her a gainer on the whole balance, will it not be downright frenzy in us, ever to look her in the face again, or to contend with her any, even the most essential, points, since victory and defeat, though by different ways, equally conduct us to our ruin.” But our author incontestibly proves, that we really triumphed over France in every respect: that our possession of the French colonies was an important acquisition, and not given into our hands by the French, as his antagonist asserts, but conquered sword in hand, by the bravery of our fleets and armies: that the taking of the Havanna was so decisive a blow, that if the peace-makers had thought proper, it might have dictated the terms of the treaty. The conquest of the French colonies are considered in no other light by the author of *The late State of the Nation*, than as a convenience for the remittances of France. To shew the falsity of this, our writer refers to the Custom-house entries, and shews the advantages we derived from them in a commercial view, by the value of our imports from them, amounting in the whole to 1,807,519*l.* sterling. Our sensible author disproves also, the remarks in *The State of the Nation*, that our trade at the close of the war, was on the edge of ruin, which is there given as a reason for making the peace—“nothing can be more false; the ruin of the trade of France, and our possession of their colonies, considerably augmented our exports, which, in *The State of the Nation*, are falsely ascribed to the

* Whoever is the least conversant with the admired elegance of diction of Mr. E——B——e, will not be at a loss in divining this coadjutor in *The Observations*.

“consumption

"consumption of our own fleets and armies." Our navigation is there represented, as having been *entirely* engrossed by foreigners: this is proved to be false, even by his own account of the tonnage of shipping employed in our trade in 1761. The British amounted to 527,557 tons—the foreign, to no more than 180,102; and in 1762, the increase of the British was still more considerable. Having convicted his antagonist of error and misrepresentation on the subject of the war, his notions of the peace come next under consideration: Our author reduces the requisites of a good peace, to three heads; "1. Stability; 2. indemnification; 3. alliance. As to the first, he observes, that frequent hints are thrown out in *The State of the Nation*, that the peace is not likely to hold long: as to the second component of a good peace, *compensation*, I have, says he, but little trouble, for my adversary has said nothing upon that head; he had nothing to say. After a war of such expence, this ought to have been a capital consideration. As to the third requisite, *alliance*, there too he is silent. What strength of that kind did they acquire? They got no one new ally; they stript the enemy of not a single old one. They disgusted (however justly or unjustly, matters not) every ally we had; and from that time to this, we stand friendless in Europe." Our *observers* might have gone farther; for in *The State of the Nation*, our being destitute of alliances, is enumerated in the list of our public calamities, though brought on us by the very ministry, in defence of whom that pamphlet is written.

Having discussed the subjects of war and peace, our *observer* considers his adversary's state of the public debt, and convicts him of such glaring, arithmetical errors, as it would be quite tedious to enumerate; but they are such, that if the supposed dictator of *The State of the Nation*, Mr. G——e, assented to them, it must be from a determined resolution to mislead; for he is as accurate an arithmetician as any in England: how is it possible, that such an error could be innocently made, as to charge the annual interest of the unfunded debt at 299,250 *l.* instead of 160,000 *l.*?

"Still more extraordinary, says our author, is the misrepresentation of the increase of the peace-establishment, in which an error is made of 878,546 *l.*; these are some of his capital fallacies," all evidently calculated to render our situation as deplorable as possible; with a view to reinstate the patron of the performance in the administration of government.

On the subject of trade, the author of *The Observations* gains a most complete victory, and affords great comfort to his countrymen, as well as support to the author of the *National Debt no National Grievance*, for he proves, from the registers of the west-riding of Yorkshire, for three years before the war, and for the three last, that our staple woollen-manufactures are so far from being on the decline; on account of the high price of labour and provisions, occasioned by the taxes, that they are considerably augmented, so that the increase of
clotha

cloths in the three last years, is no less than 76,188 pieces, broad and narrow included; and we may venture to say, that this anecdote is worth more, than all the calculations put together in the *State of the Nation*; since it proves, “that this capital manufacture has increased under the increase of taxes: but this is not all—the revenue arising from consumption, said to be diminished by the emigration of our seamen and artificers, is absolutely increased 1,329,040 *l.* in the three years since the new duties have been laid on: as to our exports, they will evidently make against his pretended decline of trade, for they exceed in the three years from 1764 to 1766, the three years preceding the war, near one million:” on the whole, the balance of our trade is stated, in the *Observations*, at 4,000,000 *l.* whereas, it is reduced by misrepresentation, in *The State of the Nation*, to 2,500,000 *l.* and a false inference is drawn from this reduction, that this small balance may still diminish to 1,560,000 *l.* the annual interest paid to foreigners for their property in the funds; nay, that it is in danger from a decline of trade to sink under that sum, in which case we should be driven to the melancholy necessity of exporting our specie to pay the deficiency; and the decrease of our specie would alarm the public creditors—we beg leave to observe, that such an insinuation, even if it had been well grounded, merits chastisement, and ought to fix indelible obloquy on the author of *The State of the Nation*. It is with great satisfaction we congratulate our countrymen on the total removal of the panic, into which the public creditors were thrown, by this daring diminution of the balance of our trade; and we refer the judicious to p. 31, 32, and 33, of *The Observations*, for a full account of the real balance, amounting to 4,000,000 *l.*

Having thus proved the principles of war, peace, finances, and trade, to be falsely laid down in *The State of the Nation*, our author, with great justice, falls upon the account given in that pamphlet, of the vigorous state of France after the war, which is there contrasted with our imbecility, “in order to wind up our alarms to the highest pitch:” here again we have the pleasure to find, that the whole is a deception; that France, in fact, is more encumbered with debts and taxes than Great-Britain; that her revenues are as deeply anticipated: in fine, that instead of borrowing 50,000,000 *l.* by perennial taxes from 1756 to 1762 inclusive, and thereby disengaging herself from all incumbrances after the war, as is asserted in *The State of the Nation*; she borrowed this sum at different periods, on usurious terms; and has since been obliged to lay a tax on her public creditors, to enable her to pay the interest.—Can such amazing, important errors, be accounted for on any other principle, than of a design to impose on our understandings, to answer some sinister view? A very just remark closes our author’s examination and overthrow of the gloomy narrative of our public calamities!—“No man of common discretion ought to have exhibited it to the public, if true; or of common honesty, if false.”

But in *The State of the Nation*, various means are proposed, to recover us from this deplorable situation, to retrieve our affairs, and replenish our exhausted treasury; these are all amply considered, and proved by our author to be equally chimerical, equally false, as the account of the situation of public affairs on which they are built: the scheme for drawing an annual revenue of 200,000*l.* from America, and 100,000*l.* from Ireland, is proved to be absurd, by sound reasoning on political and commercial principles: in the *National Debt no National Grievance*, these plans were ridiculed, but here they are satisfactorily discussed at large.

The permanency of an annual payment of 400,000*l.* to the public from the East India company is likewise contested, and he gives a circumstantial detail of the origin of the agreement between the government and that company, which is new, curious and interesting, for which we refer the publick to p. 57, 58 and 59 of the work; from this subject our author relieves us by taking up the affair of American representatives in parliament, a measure recommended by his adversary, the impropriety of which he evinces “from the distance of situation and
“the infinite difficulty of settling that representation on a fair balance of wealth and numbers throughout the several provinces of
“America and the West Indies, under such an infinite variety of circumstances. It costs the author of *the State of the Nation*, nothing
“to fight with nature, and to conquer the order of providence, which
“manifestly opposes itself to the possibility of such a parliamentary union.”

The remainder of *the Observations* are confined to the particular object of clearing the marquis of Rockingham's administration from the heavy censures of the author of the *State of the nation*, the consideration of which we postpone for reasons already assigned.

An Epistle to Junius Silanus from Cornelius Scipio. 8vo. Becket and De Hondt, 6d.

Junius Silanus, at the time of the conspiracy of Catiline, was consul elect. He first gave his voice against Catiline, then changed his mind, and voted for him. Scipio, who afterwards was killed in Africa fighting for the liberty of Rome against Cæsar, wrote to Silanus this famous epistle, in which he arraigns his conduct, and renounces his friendship.—So much for the title-page, next follows the application in direct though ironical terms, to the right honourable George Grenville by way of dedication; malice itself (says the editor) dare not say, “*Mutato nomine de te fabula narratur;*” yet every line of the letter is pointed at the said Mr. Grenville as forcibly, as Nathan's exclamation to David, *Thou art the man.*

This little piece is in fact the right honourable Mr. George Grenville's funeral sermon, in his political capacity, for therein he is pronounced dead to his country and to his former friends: the reason assigned is, because he formerly stood foremost among the opponents of
Catiline:

Cataline, in a late debate concerning the punishment, which we may suppose was the expulsion of Cataline, he spoke and voted in his favour: if it were possible to convert the Roman conspirator Cataline, into the modern patriot John Wilkes, Esq; as easily as we can conceive that Junius Silanus and Mr. George Grenville are comparative characters, this very pretty pamphlet, containing twenty-one pages and one-tenth part of a twenty-second, printed on a very large type, so that it does not contain the quantity of a twopenny publication, might merit attention; but till the editor can justify the comparison between the popular prisoner in the king's-bench, and the famous conspirator Cataline, whose aim was the destruction, not the preservation of the freedom of his country, we cannot possibly concur with him in opinion that Mr. Grenville's conduct is so very condemnable. He might pursue Cataline, or Mr. Wilkes if you will, in his ministerial capacity when at the head of administration *se defendendo*, but we have no right to expect from thence that he should vote against him, on a question that affects the privileges of election, and is of the highest consequence to every member of that senate in which Junius Silanus, or Mr. George Grenville, now sits as an individual.

We are also greatly at a loss to find a modern character to suit with Crassus, "the constant associate and assistant of Cataline in his wicked enterprizes, and now accused by Tarquinius (an unlucky name quite obsolete at this time) as privy to the conspiracy: he is said to have gained over Junius Silanus by his immense riches." Here we have no substitute, we have heard indeed of the rich Beckford, the friend of modern patriots, but what connection has this with Junius Silanus or Mr. Grenville? Several other parts of this letter are equally inapplicable to the present times, or to the late debate concerning a certain expulsion, but we will cite one or two passages from the letter itself, and rest it with the public.

"Whoever is most strenuous against the seditious is my friend, and may depend upon the voice of Scipio in the senate, and his sword in the field; for there, Silanus, all our differences will at last be determined. (*We hope this will not be the issue of the factious divisions which have so long diverted us from our attention to the most important concerns of the nation.*) Mean while I am resolved to rank myself with the friends of Cicero and Cato. They I am certain have upright intentions, and sincerely love their country. Their worth and authority never were more signal, never were more serviceable, than in the late debate concerning Cataline. If the eloquence of Cicero had not been supported by the constancy and magnanimity of Cato, Cataline would have escaped condemnation." I believe it will require a greater share of sagacity than the letter-writer is master of, to point out to us the Cicero and Cato of the day, in a late debate.

But there is a striking allusion to our disputes with the colonies in the following lines, with which we shall close the account of this production;

"Think

“ Think, Silanus, of the condition of the provinces. Confusion, disorder, and disaffection to the government of Rome, prevail from one end to the other of her extended empire. What has inspired such unheard of insolence and contempt of her authority? The factions of Rome, the animosities of her senators, and the alternate opposition of contending parties to the most necessary measures of government. (*Here the likeness of the picture is rather too strong.*) You, O Silanus, have deeply felt this, and have often bitterly lamented this fatal source of all our calamities. The excellent laws which you made in your first consulship, to support and establish the authority of Rome over the distant provinces, were most wantonly and maliciously repealed by the succeeding consuls, merely to discredit you. The pernicious consequences of this detestable measure will long be felt at home and abroad, and preserve the memory of the guilt of Cimber and Metellus.” The marquis of Rockingham and his coadjutor in the repeal of the American stamp act, may apply this to themselves if they think proper; but I believe their countrymen will preserve a grateful remembrance of their true political wisdom, instead of arraigning them of guilt. “ In whom shall Rome place her confidence after Silanus has betrayed her?” The answer is obvious, in Cicero and Cato, that is, when Mr. Sheridan the Irishman shall have formed them, who has the modesty to lay all our miscarriages to the account of our deficiency in oratory.

The danger of opposing ministerial tyranny, exemplified in the trial of the Rev. Mr. Samuel Johnson, in the court of King's-Bench, for a libel, before the Lord Chief Justice JEFFERIES, with comparative reflections.

THERE is not an exclamation more frequent in the mouths of moral, as well as political writers, than, *that their own times are the worst that ever happened!* The evidence of history is a continued refutation of this opinion. But we read and are blind. The distresses of our forefathers do not make so strong an impression upon us as our own. We only read concerning theirs, and we soon forget them: we feel our own, and we keep the sensation alive by meditating upon it afterwards. The opposers of a ministry have generally been martyrs; and the pens, which were used to wound their enemies, have too frequently proved weapons to wound themselves. Not only the out-lines of the lives of patriots have shewn a strong resemblance between them; but likewise their features, and the shades of their portraits have heightened the similitude. I was struck with this thought lately, on perusing the life of the Rev. Mr. Samuel Johnson, who figured as a patriot in the reigns of Charles and James II.

The ministry indeed treated him, as ministers do all *their* opponents—as a traitor to his king, and an enemy to his country. He was a friend and chaplain of the lord Russel, who died a martyr by the hands of papists; and he was also a great friend to liberty, as appears from

from his writings against passive obedience. He had composed a piece on this subject, which was printed and entered at Stationers-hall in 1685. I do not know whether, according to our modern ideas of terms, this might not be called *publishing*. But as it was suppressed and concealed, it could not be termed so in his time, without a *bull*, if not a contradiction.

He was indeed carried before the privy-council, and examined by the lord keeper North, who asked him, "whether he was the author of a book called Julian's Arts and Method to extirpate Christianity?" Having answered in the affirmative, he was interrogated, "Why, after a book had been so long entered at Stationers-hall, *it was not published?*"—To this he replied, "that the nation was in too great a ferment to have the matter further debated at that time."—Upon this he was ordered to produce one of those books to the council, that it might be published if they approved of it. But he answered, "that he had *suppressed* the books *himself*; so that they were now his own *private* thoughts, for which he was *not accountable* to any power on earth."

The council dismissed him at that time, but sent for him thrice afterwards, pressed the same thing upon him, and received the same answers; upon which account they committed him to the Gatehouse, by the following curious warrant:

"Sir Leoline Jenkins, knight, one of his Majesty's most honourable privy-council, and principal secretary of state."

WHEREAS Samuel Johnson, clerk, hath (as appeareth by information upon oath) caused *three thousand copies* of a certain book, called Julian's Arts to extirpate Christianity, &c. to be *printed*, in order to the *publishing* thereof, and had the said *three thousand* copies in his custody, and hath delivered the same to a friend, to be kept until he shall see it fit time for the publishing thereof; and refuseth, upon his examination, to produce any of the said printed copies, or to discover where, or in whose custody the same are. And whereas, it is justly *suspected*, that the said book is a *treasonable* book, and *intended* to be *published* at such time or times, as it shall be of dangerous consequence to the public peace to do it: these are therefore, in his Majesty's name, to will and require you to take the body of the said Samuel Johnson into your custody in his Majesty's prison of the Gatehouse, and him safely to keep there, *until he discover* the said copies; to the end, that if they be *treasonable*, they may be effectually proceeded upon and *suppressed*, or he the said Samuel Johnson be otherwise delivered by due course of law. And for so doing, this shall be your warrant. Given under my hand and seal at Whitehall, the 3d day of August, 1683, in the thirty-fifth year of his Majesty's reign.

L. JENKINS.

To Anthony Church, keeper of his Majesty's prison at the Gate-house."

The constancy which this gentleman shewed, when before the privy-council, is similar to that of another patriot, when examined

by the secretaries of state. The observation Mr. Johnson made in his defence, though agreeable to the dictates of reason and common sense, would not have been admitted as valid among the present professors of the law; "he said he had suppressed the books himself, so that they were now his *private thoughts*, for which he was not accountable to any power upon earth." This was not admitted indeed by the ministry in those days; nor has it been admitted by those, who have been at the helm in ours: so far all ministries have been alike.

It is not a little pleasant, to find the ministry in Johnson's days *suspecting* that this book was *treasonable*, though they had not *seen* a line of it. But ministers are affected much in the same manner as the renowned Don Quixote—he imagined every thing he saw to be an enchanted castle; and they suspect every writing they read, nay even that which they have not *seen*, to be *treasonable*. The ministers in Johnson's days seem even to have surpassed their successors; for though they did not know a single sentence of his book, they roundly asserted that it would be of *dangerous consequence to the public peace whenever it was published*. They were indeed mistaken; but it is no new thing to say that of a ministry.

Poor Johnson was to be kept in close custody, till he discovered the copies he had printed; and if they should have proved to be *treasonable*, they were then to be proceeded upon and suppressed. But they had been *suppressed* before by the author himself; and therefore what need was there for their *proceeding upon* them? And if they had not proved *treasonable* after the proceeding of the ministry, what recompence or indemnification was to be made to Johnson for his false imprisonment, and the calumny he suffered from the bare suspicion of treason? These are questions which will not admit of an easy answer. They are questions which shew the vast *difference* between those who were in the administration then, and those who have been at the helm in our remembrance.

I cannot help taking notice, that the Rev. Samuel Johnson had more faithful friends than our present patriot. His friends never deserted him, but the friends of the latter knew not what it was to be faithful. His very domestics were bribed to betray and rob their master: and the very theft was produced in evidence to cast him, who, in due course of law, ought to have hanged the person who committed it.

The advantage which Johnson had over our modern patriot, appears from hence, that though a messenger was sent to the house, where, by the information, the copies of his books were deposited, yet he could not find them. This was more extraordinary, because, after the first search, Johnson's friends apprehending a further search, and not thinking them secure enough, had removed them; and when the messenger searched again, he found the first place, but missed the second; after this, they were removed to a third place in the same house; and upon a fresh search, the messenger found the *second* place, but

but missed the third. The ministry, being thus disappointed, had recourse to promises; and a considerable sum, besides the *favour of the court*, (for the ministry at that time could *bribe* as well as *threaten*) was offered for *one of the* copies, to the person in whose hands they were supposed to be—but it was *nobly* refused.

Our author was consequently bailed by two of his friends in a bond of 1000*l.* and himself in another of the same sum; and all the measures of the court to procure a copy of his book, being frustrated, the prosecution was dropped.

But the matter did not rest here;—Johnson was afterwards brought to a trial in the King's Bench, on Feb. 11, 1683-4; the prosecution being begun and carried on by the duke of York. Upon the trial, Mr. Wallop [Johnson's counsel] urged, "That he had offended against no law of the land; that the book, taken together, was innocent; but any treatise might be made criminal, if dealt with, as those who drew up the information had dealt with this."

However, the *ordinary course* of law was observed, and the information was grounded, as *usual* in *such* cases, upon some obnoxious passages extracted from the book.

On the other hand, the lord chief justice Jefferies upbraided Mr. Johnson, for meddling with what did not belong to him, and told him, with a sneer, that he would give him a text, which was, *let every man study to be quiet and mind his own business*—to this Mr. Johnson replied—that he did mind his own business, as an Englishman, when he wrote that book.

After this expression of the judge, the reader need not be informed that Mr. Johnson was cast. His sentence was to pay *five hundred marks*, to find sureties for his good behaviour for a year, and to be committed to the King's Bench till this be paid and done.—His book was likewise sentenced to be *burnt by the hands of the common hangman*.

Not being able to pay his fine, he continued a prisoner. But he soon obtained the liberties by the assistance of his friends, who relieved his necessities, and enabled him to print several pieces against popery, and to disperse them about the country. True patriots we find are never to be intimidated by sufferings. Persecution rather animates them, and makes them considerable in the eyes of the vulgar, as well as the great.

Mr. Samuel Johnson still continued his patriotic publications, notwithstanding his sufferings; and on the encampment of the army upon Hounslow-heath, published *an humble address to all the English Protestants in the army*. He dispersed about *one thousand* copies of this paper, when the rest of the impression was seized, and he himself was put into close custody for his second trial in the court of King's Bench. The behaviour of the marshal of the King's Bench prison to him at this time needs no particular notice; for the marshals of that prison have been always *noted* for their *singular* humanity and *politeness* to the state prisoners in their charge.

Johnson,

Johnson, on his trial was sentenced to stand on the pillory at Palace Yard, Westminster, at Charing-Cross, and at the Royal Exchange; to pay a fine of *five hundred marks*, and to be whipped from Newgate to Tyburn. This sentence was most rigorously executed on the *first* of December, after he had been degraded and deprived by the ecclesiastical court. He endured the whipping not only with firmness, with intrepidity, but likewise with alacrity: and, notwithstanding his sufferings, still continued to oppose the measures of the court, till the revolution put an end both to those measures, and to his sufferings.

The ministry who proceeded against him were undoubtedly thought to be in the right by their own creatures and party, and the sentence pronounced against him was then esteemed to be just and legal. But, as Horace says, "*Non si male nunc et olim sic erit.*" For the proceedings against him were reversed by the parliament June 11, 1689, and even the *house of lords* presented *two* addresses to king William the same year, recommending Mr. Samuel Johnson to preferment.

May every patriot, oppressed by men in power, receive an equal if not a better recompence for their public spirit; and experienced the same vicissitude in their fortunes!

Oxf. M.

To the Freeholders of the County of Middlesex.

Feb. 9.

Gentlemen,

JOHNSON, Esq; whom you so lately elected by a great majority your representative in parliament, was last week expelled from the house of commons.

Of the motives for that expulsion, and the means employed for that purpose I am not admitted to speak: However, I believe I may safely venture to say that this measure was extremely pleasing to the present administration; and not less the subject of great grief and fearful apprehensions to some of the most respectable characters in this nation, and to some of the best friends of our happy constitution.

That you may form a proper judgment of our present ministers, and of the principles on which they act: that you may be thoroughly acquainted with the regular plan of government which they have laid down, and the measures which they mean to pursue; I will here give you an authentic copy of a letter from governor Bernard to Lord _____:

My Lord, C O P Y. *Boston, Nov. 14, 1768.*

"I come now to consider that part of my orders which relates to the reforming the bench of justices: This is to be done by two ways.
1. By adding new justices to the present bench, either by engaging gentlemen who are already in the commission to qualify themselves, or by granting new commissions to FIT persons who will undertake to act.
2. By removing such persons in the commission who are known to be infected with principles of disaffection to the constitutional authority of parliament. The first of these is practicable in both its branches; the second is at present absolutely impracticable, and will remain so while the council make the humouring the people their chief object.

"In regard to the first, I have already made some attempts to engage some gentlemen now in the commission to qualify themselves, and shall pursue it; and notwithstanding the undertaking is very discouraging, I expect I shall have success. I have also made an essay to appoint some new justices, who

would engage to act by naming one very fit person. It was received very coolly by the council, and upon my asking the reason, I was told he was not popular ; I replied, that if he had been, I should not have named him. As he was allowed to be in every other respect a most unexceptionable man, it passed unanimously ; but it gave me to know what I must expect if I proposed a man who was not popular, against whom any exception could be taken. But I shall soon try again.

" As for removing persons for their opposition to the authority of parliament by means of a council, the majority of which has (indirectly at least) avowed the same principles, and now appears to act in concert with that party from whence the opposition to parliament originated, it would be an attempt contrary to all rules of policy and prudence. It would require to be done by a public enquiry, which would receive all the obstructions and embarrassment which the chicanery of law could invent ; and if after all, full proof of disaffection to the authority of parliament should be made, it would be declared not to be relevant to infer such a censure. It would be therefore in vain to punish disaffection to the authority of parliament, until the criminality is better established than it is at present. To support this conjecture, in what manner the council would act in such a proceeding, I need only refer your lordship to their conduct, and the papers they have published within these two months last past.

" And yet, my lord, I would not insinuate that we have no fit objects for such a censure. The sons of liberty have not been without magistrates. We have seen justices attending at liberty tree ; one to administer an oath to the stamp-master, when he was obliged to swear that he would not execute his office ; another to perform the function of toast-master ; a third, but lately, to consult about fortifying the town ; others to make up a procession of forty-five carriages and ninety two persons, on the 14th of August last. All these are included in two lists which your lordship has ; that of the five select men who signed the circular letter for the convention, of which all but the first are in the commission, and that of the eight justices who signed the refusal to billet the soldiers. Now if the censure of these proceedings should produce an order to supersede the commissions of these gentlemen, it would be a trial of the power of the governor : It seems at present that the council would not enable me to execute such an order.

" It is a great defect in this government, that the king has no power over the commissions which are granted in his name and under his seal. He can by order in council disallow a law which has passed by the governor, council, and house of representatives ; but yet he cannot supersede a commission which has been granted by the governor and council. And yet the council of this province is as much out of the controul of the king, as the house of representatives is ; wherefore it seems as reasonable that the king should be allowed to correct the mistakes of the governor and council, as of the governor, council and house. As it is, when the governor has once set the king's seal to a commission, it is for ever out of the hands of the crown ; and the persons who have obtained it may henceforth defy the king, oppose his laws, and insult his government, and be in no danger of losing his commission. It is true the governor, with the advice of council, can supersede him ; but if he acts in a popular cause, under which opposition to government finds it easy to shelter itself, the council, who are themselves the creatures of the people, will never join with the governor in censuring the overflowings of liberty. It may be said

said that the governor should take care not to appoint any one whose character is not well known. But the governor does not personally know half of those whom he appoints to offices : It is not therefore in his power to guard against imposition, let him be ever so cautious ; besides, a man's political character often does not appear till he has got into an office, and thereby held forth to the public. Hence it is not unusual for a person, who has not distinguished himself in political matters, to get himself recommended to the governor as a man well disposed to government ; and as soon as he has received his commission to declare for the party of the foes of liberty. The governor may resent the imposition as he pleases ; but he cannot undo what he has done. Thus the commissions of the king, like his cannon upon another occasion, are turned against him.

" It would serve to remedy this abuse and strengthen government, if the king was enabled by order in his privy council to supersede commissions granted in his name, and under his seal, when they shall appear to be granted to improper persons, or made use of for improper purposes. This must be done by act of parliament, and I don't see the impropriety of such an act ; it seems to me to be a proper power to be vested in the crown ; especially at a time when the crown wants to be strengthened by all legal means in this country. And it seems that it would be better to be done by a general act than a partial one ; for such a power may be wanted in the royal governments, notwithstanding the controul the king has over the councils. For it is very possible, considering the spirit which prevails, that even a royal council may support a popular magistrate against the interest of the crown. And if the colonies should prevail to have the judges commissions during good behaviour, which some of them are now very earnest about, it might be proper that the king in council should be empowered to judge and determine upon such misbehaviour as would avoid the commission. But this will not be necessary, if the general instructions of granting no commissions but during pleasure be continued and punctually observed ; nor will it be necessary that such an act should be general ; it is more wanted in this government than in all the others together ; and even here the defect would be cured by a royal council.

I am, with great respect, my lord,

Your lordship's most obedient,

And most humble servant,

FRA. BERNARD."

*The Right Honourable
the Earl of ———.*

Perhaps it may be asked what connection there is between this letter from Boston and the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes ? It is a question I shall not answer. But in my next I intend to make some remarks on the governor's reasoning and proposals, with an application to ourselves ; and I do not doubt but I shall make it plainly appear that the cause of liberty in England and in America is ONE COMMON CAUSE. The attacks on both have been made and carried on by the same set of men, with the same views, and with the same illegal violence. I see and deplore the immediate consequences of such proceedings, and yet I do not despair of their final issue.

The liberty of this country, like its religion, has been ever established and confirmed in blood—the blood of its professors. In this respect alone they are both cruel deities, and will have human victims.

For my own part, if it must be so, and if these gross and shameless violations of all law and right and natural justice are to be continued and defended, I shall not refuse to offer up myself a prudent and moderate, but a determined sacrifice.

SERIOUS TRUTH.

Sir William Draper's Letter.

THE kingdom swarms with such numbers of felonious robbers of private character and virtue; that no honest or good man is safe; especially as these cowardly base assassins stab in the dark, without having the courage to sign their real names to their malevolent and wicked productions. A writer, who signs himself *Junius* (*See Page 111*) opens the deplorable situation of this country in a very affecting manner: With a pompous parade of his candor and decency, he tells us, that we see dissensions in all parts of the empire, an universal spirit of distrust and dissatisfaction, and a total loss of respect towards us in the eyes of foreign powers. But this writer, with all his boasted candour, has not told us the real cause of the evils he so pathetically enumerates. I shall take the liberty to explain the cause for him. Junius, and such writers as himself, occasion all the mischiefs complained of, by falsely and maliciously traducing the best characters in the kingdom. For when our deluded people at home, and foreigners abroad, read the poisonous and inflammatory libels that are daily published with impunity, to vilify those who are any way distinguished by their good qualities and eminent virtues; when they find no notice taken of, or reply given to those slanderous tongues and pens, their conclusion is, that both the ministers and the nation have been fairly described, and they act accordingly. I think it therefore the duty of every good citizen to stand forth, and endeavour to undeceive the public; when the vilest arts are made use of to defame and blacken the brightest characters among us. An eminent author affirms it to be almost as criminal to hear a worthy man traduced without attempting his justification, as to be the author of the calumny against him. For my own part, I think it a sort of misprision of treason against society. No man therefore who knows lord Granby, can possibly hear so good and great a character most vilely abused, without a warm and just indignation against this Junius, this high-priest of envy, malice, and all uncharitableness, who has endeavoured to sacrifice our beloved commander in chief at the altars of his horrid deities. Nor is the injury done to his lordship alone, but to the whole nation, which may too soon feel the contempt, and consequently the attacks of our late enemies, if they can be induced to believe that the person on whom the safety of these kingdoms so much depends, is unequal to his high station, and destitute of those qualities which form a good general. One would have thought that his lordship's services in the cause of his country, from the battle of Culloden to his most glorious conclusion of the late war, might have entitled him to common respect and decency at least; but this uncan- did indecent writer has gone so far as to turn one of the most amiable men of the age into a stupid, unfeeling and senseless being; possessed indeed of personal courage, but void of those essential qualities which distinguish the commander from the common soldier.

A very long, uninterrupted, impartial, I will add, a most disinterested friendship with lord Granby, gives me the right to affirm, that all Junius's assertions are false and scandalous. Lord Granby's courage, though of the brightest and most ardent kind, is among the lowest of his numerous good qualities; he was formed to excel in war by nature's liberality to his mind as well as person. Educated and instructed by his most noble father, and

a most spirited as well as excellent scholar, the present bishop of Bangor, he was trained to the nicest sense of honour, and to the truest and noblest sort of pride, that of never doing or suffering a mean action. A sincere love and attachment to his king and country, and to their glory, first impelled him to the field, where he never gained ought but honour. He impaired, through his bounty, his own fortune; for his bounty, which this writer would in vain depreciate, is founded upon the noblest of the human affections, it flows from a heart melting to goodness from the most refined humanity. Can a man, who is described as unfeeling, and void of reflection, be constantly employed in seeking proper objects on whom to exercise those glorious virtues of compassion and generosity? The distressed officer, the soldier, the widow, the orphan, and a long list besides, know that vanity has no share in his frequent donations; he gives, because he feels their distresses. Nor has he ever been rapacious with one hand to be bountiful with the other; yet this uncandid Junius would insinuate, that the dignity of the commander in chief is depraved into the base office of a commission broker; that is, lord Granby bargains for the sale of commissions; for it must have this meaning, if it has any at all. But where is the man living who can justly charge his lordship with such mean practices? Why does not Junius produce him? Junius knows that he has no other means of wounding this hero, than from some missile weapon, shot from an obscure corner: He seeks, as all such defamatory writers do,

Spargere Voces
In Vulgum ambiguas

to raise suspicion in the minds of the people. But I hope that my countrymen will be no longer imposed upon by artful and designing men, or by wretches, who, bankrupts in business, in fame and in fortune, mean nothing more than to involve this country in the same common ruin with themselves. Hence it is, that they are constantly aiming their dark and too often fatal weapons against those who stand forth as the bulwarks of our national safety. Lord Granby was too conspicuous a mark not to be their object. He is next attacked for being unfaithful to his promises and engagements: Where are Junius's proofs? Although I could give some instances, where a breach of promise would be a virtue, especially in the case of those who would pervert the open, unsuspecting moments of convivial mirth, into sly, insidious applications for preferment, or party systems, and would endeavour to surprise a good man, who cannot bear to see any one leave him dissatisfied, into unguarded promises. Lord Granby's attention to his own family and relations, is called selfish. Had he not attended to them, when fair and just opportunities presented themselves, I should have thought him unfeeling, and void of reflection indeed. How are any man's friends or relations to be provided for, but from the influence and protection of the patron? It is unfair to suppose that lord Granby's friends have not as much merit as the friends of any other great man: If he is generous at the public expence, as Junius invidiously calls it, the public is at no more expence for his lordship's friends, than it would be, if any other set of men possessed those offices. The charge is ridiculous!

The last charge against lord Granby is of a most serious and alarming nature indeed. Junius asserts, that the army is mouldering away for want
of

of the direction of a man of common abilities and spirit. The present condition of the army gives the directest lie to his assertions. It was never upon a more respectable footing with regard to discipline, and all the essentials that can form good soldiers. Lord Ligonier delivered a firm and noble palladium of our safeties into lord Granby's hands, who has kept it in the same good order in which he received it. The strictest care has been taken to fill up the vacant commissions with such gentlemen as have the glory of their ancestors to support, as well as their own, and are doubly bound to the cause of their king and country, from motives of private property, as well as public spirit. The adjutant general, who has the immediate care of the troops, after lord Granby, is an officer who would do great honour to any service in Europe, for his correct arrangements, good sense and discernment upon all occasions, and for a punctuality and precision which give the most entire satisfaction to all who are obliged to consult him. The reviewing generals, who inspect the army twice a year, have been selected with the greatest care, and have answered the important trust reposed in them in the most laudable manner. Their reports of the condition of the army are much more to be credited than those of Junius, whom I do advise to atone for his shameful aspersions, by asking pardon of lord Granby, and the whole kingdom, whom he has offended by his abominable scandals. In short, to turn Junius's own battery against him, I must assert in his own words, " that he has given strong assertions without proof, declamation without argument, and violent censures without dignity or moderation."

Clifton,

Jan. 26, 1769.

WILLIAM DRAPER.

To Sir William Draper, Knight of the Bath.

S I R,

YOUR defence of lord G——y does honour to the goodness of your heart. You feel, as you ought to do, for the reputation of your friend, and you express yourself in the warmest language of the passions. In any other cause, I doubt not, you would have cautiously weighed the consequences of committing your name to the licentious discourses and malignant opinions of the world. But here, I presume, you thought it would be a breach of friendship to lose one moment in consulting your understanding; as if an appeal to the public were no more than a military *Coup de Main*, where a brave man has no rules to follow, but the dictates of his courage. Touched with your generosity, I freely forgive the excesses into which it has led you; and far from resenting those terms of reproach, which, considering that you are an advocate for decorum, you have heaped upon me rather too liberally, I place them to the account of an honest unreflecting indignation, in which your cooler judgment and natural politeness had no concern. I approve of the spirit with which you have given your name to the public, and, if it were a proof of any thing but spirit, I should have thought myself bound to follow your example. I should have hoped that even *my* name might carry some authority with it, if I had not seen how very little weight or consideration a printed paper receives even from the respectable signature of Sir William Draper.

A 2 2

You

You begin with a general assertion that writers, such as I am, are the real cause of all the public evils we complain of. And do you really think, Sir William, that the licentious pen of a political writer is able to produce such important effects? A little calm reflection might have shewn you, that national calamities do not arise from the description, but from the real character and conduct of ministers. To have supported your assertion, you should have proved that the present ministry are unquestionably the *best and rightest* characters of the kingdom; and that if the affections of the colonies have been alienated, if Corsica has been shamefully abandoned, if commerce languishes, if public credit is threatened with a new debt, and your own Manilla ransom most dishonourably given up, it has all been owing to the malice of political writers, who will not suffer the best and brightest of characters (meaning still the present ministry) to take a single right step for the honour or interest of the nation. But it seems you were a little tender of coming to particulars. Your conscience insinuated to you that it would be prudent to leave the characters of G——n, N——th, H——gh, W——th, and M——d, to shift for themselves; and truly, Sir William, the part you have undertaken is at least as much as you are equal to.

Without disputing lord G——'s courage, we are yet to learn in what articles of military knowledge nature has been so very liberal to his mind. If you have served with him, you ought to have pointed out some instances of able disposition and well concerted enterprize which might fairly be attributed to his capacity as a general. It is you, Sir William, who make your friend appear awkward and ridiculous, by giving him a laced suit of tawdry qualifications, which nature never intended him to wear.

You say he has acquired nothing but honour in the field. Is the Ordinance nothing? Are the Blues nothing? Is the command of the army, with all the patronage annexed to it, nothing? Where he got these Nothings I know not, but you at least ought to have told us where he deserved them.

As to his bounty, compassion, &c. it would have been but little to the purpose, though you had proved all that you have asserted. I meddle with nothing but his character as C——r in Ch——, and though I acquit him of the baseness of selling commissions, I still assert that his military cares have never extended beyond the disposal of vacancies, and I am justified by the complaints of the whole army when I say, that, in this distribution, he consults nothing but p——y interests, or the gratification of his immediate dependants. As to his servile submission to the reigning ministry, let me ask, whether he did not desert the cause of the whole army, when he suffered Sir Jeffery Amherst to be sacrificed, and what share he had in recalling that officer to the service? Did he not betray the just interests of the army in permitting lord P——y to have a regiment? And does he not at this time give up all character and dignity as a gentleman, in receding from his own repeated declarations in favour of Mr. Wilkes?

In the two next articles I think we are agreed. You candidly admit that he often makes such promises as it is a virtue in him to violate, and that no man is more assiduous to provide for his relations at the public expence. I did not urge the last as an absolute vice in his disposition; but

to prove that a *careless disinterested Spirit* is no part of his character; and as to the other, I desire it may be remembered, that I never defended of the indecency of enquiring into his *convivial hours*. It is you, Sir William Draper, who have taken pains to represent your friend in the character of a drunken landlord, who deals out his promises as liberally as his liquor, and will suffer no man to leave his table either sorrowful or sober. None but an intimate friend, who must frequently have seen him in these unhappy disgraceful moments, could have described him so well.

The last charge, of the neglect of the army, is indeed the most material of all. I am sorry to tell you, Sir William, that, in this article, your first fact is false, and as there is nothing more painful to me than to give a direct contradiction to a gentleman of your appearance, I could wish that, in future publications, you would pay a greater attention to the truth of your premises, before you suffer your genius to hurry you to a conclusion. Lord Ligonier *did not* deliver the army (which you, in classical language are pleased to call a Palladium) into lord G—by's hands. It was taken from him, much against his inclinations, some two or three years before lord G—y was commander in chief. As to the state of the army, I should be glad to know, where you have received your intelligence. Was it in the rooms at Bath, or at your retreat at Clifton? The reports of reviewing generals comprehend only a few regiments in England, which, as they are immediately under the royal inspection, are perhaps in some tolerable order. But do you know any thing of the troops in the West-Indies, the Mediterranean, and North America, to say nothing of a whole army absolutely ruined in Ireland? Enquire a little into facts, Sir William; before you publish your next Panegyrick upon lord G—y, and believe me, you will find there is a fault at head quarters, which even the acknowledged care and abilities of the adjutant general cannot correct.

Permit me now, Sir William, to address myself personally to you, by way of thanks for the honour of your correspondence. You are by no means undeserving of notice; and it may be of consequence even to lord G—y to have it determined, whether or no the man who has praised him so lavishly, be himself deserving of praise. When you returned to Europe, you zealously undertook the cause of that gallant army, by whose bravery at Manilla your own fortunes had been established. You complained, you threatened, you even appealed to the public in print. By what accident did it happen, that in the midst of all this bustle, and all these clamours for justice to your injured troops, the name of the Manilla ransom was suddenly buried in a profound, and, since that time, an uninterrupted silence? Did the ministry suggest any motives to you strong enough to tempt a man of honour to desert and betray the cause of his fellow soldiers? Was it that blushing ribband, which is now the perpetual ornament of your person? Or was it that regiment, which you afterwards (a thing unprecedented among soldiers) sold to colonel Gisborne? Or was it that government, the full-pay of which you are contented to hold with the half-pay of an Irish colonel! And do you now, after a retreat not very like that of Scipio, presume to intrude yourself, unthought of, uncalled for, upon the patience of the public? Are your flatteries of the c—r in ch— directed to another regiment, which you may again dispose of on the same honourable terms? We know your prudence, Sir William, and I should be sorry to stop your preferment.

JUNIUS.

Clifton, Feb. 6, 1769.

IF the voice of a well meaning individual could be heard amid the clamour, fury, and madness of the times, would it appear too rash and presumptuous to propose to the public, that an act of indemnity and oblivion may be made for all past transactions and offences, as well with respect to Mr. Wilkes as to our colonies? Such salutary expedients have been embraced by the wisest nations; such expedients have been made use of by our own, when the public confusions had arrived to some very dangerous and alarming crisis; and I believe it needs not the gift of prophecy to foretell, that some such crisis is now approaching. Perhaps it will be more wise and praise-worthy to make such an act immediately, in order to prevent the possibility, not to say the probability of an insurrection at home, and in our dependencies abroad, than it will be to be obliged to have recourse to one after the mischief has been done, and the kingdom has groaned under all the miseries that avarice, ambition, hypocrisy, and madness, could inflict upon it. An act of grace, indemnity, and oblivion, was passed upon the restoration of king Charles II. but I will venture to say, that had such an act been seasonably passed in the reign of his unhappy father, the civil war had been prevented, and no restoration had been necessary. Is it too late to recall the messengers and edicts of wrath? Cannot the money that is now wasted in endless and mutual prosecutions, and in stopping the mouth of one man, and in opening that of another, be better employed in erecting a temple to concord? Let Mr. Wilkes lay the first stone, and such a stone as I hope the builders will not refuse. May this parliament, to use lord Clarendon's expression, be called *The Healing Parliament*! May our soul wounds be cleansed, and then closed! The English have been as famous for good nature as for valour; let it not be said that such qualities are degenerated into savage ferocity. If any of my friends in either house of legislature shall condescend to listen to, and improve these hints, I shall think that I have not lived in vain.

S. J. C.

WILLIAM DRAPER,

Clifton, Feb. 10.

I Received Junius's favour last night; he is determined to keep his advantage by the help of his mask; it is an excellent protection, it has saved many a man from an untimely end. But whenever he will be honest enough to lay it aside, avow himself, and produce the face, which has so long lurked behind it, the world will be able to judge of his motives for writing such infamous invectives. His real name will discover his freedom and independency, or his servility to a faction. Disappointed ambition, resentment for defeated hopes, and desire of revenge, assume but too often the appearance of public spirit; but be his designs wicked or charitable, Junius should learn that it is possible to condemn measures, without a barbarous and criminal outrage against men. Junius delights to mangle carcasses with a hatchet; his language and instrument have a great connection with Clare-market, and, to do him justice, he handles his weapon most admirably. One would imagine he had been taught to throw it by the savages of America. It is therefore high time for me to step in once more to shield my friend from this merciless weapon, although I may be wounded in the attempt. But I must first ask Junius, by what forced analogy

logy and construction the moments of convivial mirth are made to signify indecency, a violation of engagements, a drunken landlord, and a desire that every one in company should be drunk likewise? He must have culled all the flowers of St. Giles's and Billingsgate to have produced such a piece of oratory. Here the hatchet descends with ten fold vengeance, but, alas! it hurts no one but its master! For Junius must not think to put words into my mouth, that seem too foul even for his own.

My friend's political engagements I know not, so cannot pretend to explain them, or assert their consistency. I know not whether Junius be considerable enough to belong to any party; if he should be so, can he affirm that he has always adhered to one set of men and measures? Is he sure that he has never sided with those whom he was first hired to abuse? Has he never abused those he was hired to praise? To say the truth, most men's politicks fit much too loosely about them. But as my friend's military character was the chief object that engaged me in this controversy, to that I shall return.

Junius asks what instances my friend has given of his military skill and capacity as a general? When and where he gained his honour? When he deserved his emoluments? The united voice of the army which served under him, the glorious testimony of prince Ferdinand, and of vanquished enemies, all Germany will tell him. Junius repeats the complaints of the army against p——y influence. I love the army too well, not to wish that such influence were less. Let Junius point out the time when it has not prevailed. It was of the least force in the time of that great man, the late duke of Cumberland, who, as a prince of the blood, was able as well as willing to stem a torrent which would have overborn any private subject. In time of war this influence is small. In peace, when discontent and faction have the surest means to operate, especially in this country, and when, from a scarcity of publick spirit, the wheels of government are rarely moved, but by the power and force of obligations, its weight is always too great: Yet if this influence at present has done no greater harm, than the placing earl Percy at the head of a regiment, I do not think that either the rights, or best interests of the army, are sacrificed, and betrayed, or the nation undone. Let me ask Junius if he knows any one nobleman in the army, who has had a regiment by seniority? I feel myself happy in seeing young noblemen of illustrious name and great property come among us. They are an additional security to the kingdom from foreign or domestick slavery. Junius needs not to be told, that should the time ever come, when this nation is to be defended only by those, who have nothing more to lose than their arms and their pay, its danger will be great indeed! A happy mixture of men of quality with soldiers of fortune is always to be wished for. But the main point is still to be contended for, I mean the discipline and condition of the army; and I still must maintain, though contradicted by Junius, that it was never upon a more respectable footing, as to all the essentials that can form good soldiers, than it is at present. Junius is forced to allow that our army at home may be in some tolerable order; yet how kindly does he invite our late enemies to the invasion of Ireland, by assuring them that the army in that kingdom is totally ruined! (The colonels of that army are much obliged to him.) I have too great an opinion of the military talents of the lord lieutenant, and of their diligence and capacity, to believe it. If from
some

Some strange, unaccountable fatality, the people of that kingdom cannot be induced to consult their own security, by such an effectual augmentation, as may enable the troops there to act with power and energy, is the commander in chief here to blame? Or is he to blame, because the troops in the Mediterranean, in the West-Indies, in America, labour under great difficulties from that scarcity of men, which is but too visible all over these kingdoms? Many of our forces are in climates unfavourable to British constitutions, their loss is in proportion. Britain must recruit all these regiments from her own emaciated bosom, or more precariously, by catholics from Ireland. We are likewise subject to the fatal drains to the East Indies, to Senegal, and the alarming emigrations of our people to other countries: Such depopulation can only be repaired by a long peace, or by some sensible bill of naturalization.

I must now take the liberty to talk to Junius on my own account. He is pleased to tell me that he addresses himself to me *personally*. I shall be glad to see him. It is his *impersonality* that I complain of, and his invisible attacks; for his dagger in the air is only to be regarded, because one cannot see the hand which holds it; but had he not wounded other people more deeply than myself, I should not have obtruded myself at all on the patience of the public.

Mark how a plain tale shall put him down, and transfuse the blush of my ribband into his own cheeks. Junius tells me, that at my return, I zealously undertook the cause of the gallant army, by whose bravery at Manilla my own fortunes were established; that I complained, that I even appealed to the public in print. I did so; I glory in having done so, as I had an undoubted right to vindicate my own character, attacked by a Spanish memorial, and to assert the rights of my brave companions. I glory likewise, that I have never taken up my pen, but to vindicate the injured. Junius asks, by what accident did it happen, that in the midst of all this bustle, and all these clamours for justice to the injured troops, the Manilla ransom was suddenly buried in a profound, and since that time, an uninterrupted silence? I will explain the cause to the public. The several ministers who have been employed since that time, have been very desirous to do us justice from two most laudable motives, a strong inclination to assist injured bravery, and to acquire a well deserved popularity to themselves. Their efforts have been in vain. Some were ingenuous enough to own, that they could not think of involving this distressed nation in another war for our private concerns. In short, our rights, for the present, are sacrificed to national convenience; and I must confess, that although I may lose five-and-twenty thousand pounds, by their acquiescence to this breach of faith in the Spaniards, I think they are in the right to temporize, considering the critical situation of this country, convulsed in every part by poison infused by anonymous, wicked, and incendiary writers. Lord Shelburne will do me the justice to own, that, in September last, I waited upon him with a joint memorial from the admiral Sir S. Cornish, and myself, in behalf of our injured companions. His lordship was as frank upon the occasion as other secretaries had been before him. He did not deceive us, by giving any immediate hopes of relief.

Junius

Junius would basely insinuate, that my silence may have been purchased by my government, by my *blazing* ribband, by my regiment, by the sale of that regiment, and by half pay as an Irish colonel.

His majesty was pleased to give me my government for my services at Madras. I had my first regiment in 1757. Upon my return from Manilla, his majesty, by lord Egremont, informed me, that I should have the first vacant red ribband; as a reward for my services in an enterprize, which I had planned as well as executed. The duke of Bedford and Mr. Grenville confirmed those assurances many months before the Spaniards had protested the ransom bills. To accommodate lord Clive, then going upon a most important service to Bengal, I waved my claim to the vacancy which then happened. As there was no other vacancy until the duke of Grafton and lord Rockingham were joint ministers, I was then honoured with the order; and it is surely no small honour to me, that in such a succession of ministers, they were all pleased to think that I had deserved it; in my favour they were all united. Upon the reduction of the 79th regiment, which had served so gloriously in the East-Indies, his majesty, unsolicited by me, gave me the 16th of foot, as an equivalent. My motives for retiring afterwards are foreign to the purpose, let it suffice, that his majesty was pleased to approve of them; they are such as no man can think indecent, who knows the shocks that repeated vicissitudes of heat and cold, of dangerous and sickly climates, will give to the best constitutions, in a pretty long course of service. I resigned my regiment to colonel Gisborne, a very good officer, for his half pay, 1200l. Irish annuity; so that, according to Junius, I have been bribed to say nothing more of the Manilla ransom, and sacrifice those brave men, by the strange avarice of accepting 380l. per ann. and giving up 800l! If this be bribery, it is not the bribery of these times. As to my flattery, those who know me will judge of it. By the asperity of Junius's stile, I cannot indeed call him a flatterer, unless it be as a cynick or a mastiff; if he wags his tail, he will still growl and long to bite. The public will now judge of the credit that ought to be given to Junius's writings, from the salutes that he has insinuated with respect to himself.

WILLIAM DRAPER.

To Sir William Draper, Knight of the Bath.

S I R,

I Should justly be suspected of acting upon motives of more than common enmity to Lord G—y, if I continued to give you materials or occasion for writing in his defence. Individuals who hate, and the public who despise, have read your letters, Sir William, with infinitely more satisfaction than mine. Unfortunately for him, his reputation, like that unhappy country, to which you refer me for his last military achievements, has suffered more by his friends than his enemies. In mercy to him let us drop the subject. For my own part, I willingly leave it to the public to determine whether your vindication of your friend has been as able and judicious; as it was certainly well intended; and you, I think, may be satisfied with the warm acknowledgments he already owes you for making him the principal figure in a piece, in which, but for your amicable assistance, he might have passed without particular notice or distinction.

In justice to your friends, let your future labours be confined to the care of your own reputation. Your declaration, that you are happy in seeing young noblemen *come among us*, is liable to two objections. With respect to Lord P——y, it means nothing, for he was already in the army. He was aid de camp to the king, and had the rank of colonel. A regiment therefore could not make him a more military man, though it

made him richer, and probably at the expence of some brave, deserving, friendless officer.—The other concerns yourself. After selling the companions of your victory in one instance, and after selling your profession in the other, by what authority do you presume to call yourself a soldier? The plain evidence of facts is superior to all declarations. Before you were appointed to the 16th regiment, your complaints were a distress to government;—from that moment you were silent. The conclusion is inevitable. You insinuate to us that your ill state of health obliged you to quit the service. The retirement necessary to repair a broken constitution would have been as good a reason for not accepting, as for resigning the command of a regiment. There is certainly an error of the press, or an affected obscurity in that paragraph, where you speak of your bargain with colonel Gisborne. Instead of attempting to answer what I really do not understand, permit me to explain to the public what I really know. In exchange for your regiment, you accepted of a colonel's half pay (at least 220l. a year) and an annuity of 200l. for your own and Lady Draper's life jointly.—And is this the losing bargain, which you would represent to us, as if you had given up an income of 800l. a year for 380l. Was it decent, was it honourable, in a man who pretends to love the army, and calls himself a soldier, to make a traffic of the royal favour, and to turn the highest honour of an active profession into a sordid provision for himself and his family? It were unworthy of me to press you farther. The contempt, with which the whole army heard of the manner of your retreat, assures me that as your conduct was not justified by precedent, it will never be thought an example for imitation.

The last and most important question remains. When you receive your half pay, do you, or do you not, take a solemn oath, or sign a declaration upon honour to the following effect? *That you do not actually hold any place of profit, civil or military, under his majesty.* The charge, which this question plainly conveys against you, is of so shocking a complexion, that I sincerely wish you may be able to answer it well, not merely for the colour of your reputation, but for your own inward peace of mind.

JUNIUS.

S I R,

I Beg the favour of you to correct the following error in my answer to Junius.

Instead of 1200l. please to put, "and 200l. Irish annuity,"

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

Feb. 19.

W. DRAPER.

After the first Expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, on February 3, he published the two following Addresses.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders, of the County of Middlesex.

GENTLEMEN,

THE proceedings yesterday in the House of Commons fill me with the deepest concern, and I can truly say, much more on your account than my own. I cannot be deprived of the glory of having been chosen a representative in parliament for the first county in England; but I feel with anguish of heart, that the present ministry have found means to suspend for some time the plan of usefulness to my constituents, and service to this kingdom, which I had meditated. What adds however the most to my grief is, the melancholy reflection that by my expulsion the ministry

have thus openly shewn, that they entertain no scruple of violating the sacred rights of the people, even in the most important case, that of having a deputy nominated by themselves to the great council of the nation. They have in the instance of yesterday robbed a very respectable part of this kingdom of their noblest inheritance, of their share in the legislative power. No set of men in this nation have hitherto ventured so grossly to abuse the trust reposed in them, nor to give so fatal a stab to the vitals of our country. The threatening aspect of all our public affairs does not present any thing equally alarming, except in the late instance of ruffians hired to be your assassins and the murderers of the constitution at our last county election, whom public justice and an honest English jury have hitherto in vain sentenced to death. I think with horror on what we may in future dread for the liberties of all the commons of Great Britain from so despotic an administration, if our gracious sovereign should much longer continue to them the power of the state.

Permit me, gentlemen, to renew to you the assurances of inviolable attachment to your service and the cause of liberty, to which my life is dedicated. My courage is not appalled, nor my spirit in the least abated. I will carry with me to the grave an unshaken fidelity and ardent affection to you and to this country, an invincible hatred and opposition to its enemies. I hope still to give you farther proofs of my sentiments by my parliamentary conduct. I flatter myself that the relation between us, which subsisted yesterday, although now dissolved by the violence of arbitrary ministers, will in a short time again take place. Every mark of your regard I shall value in a high degree, and I trust that my conduct will convince you, that I am not quite unworthy of the choice, which I have now the honour of humbly soliciting.

I am strongly influenced on this occasion by a particular reason, which strikes me very forcibly, and I believe will have the greatest weight with you. It is, that by a second choice of me for this county, you, gentlemen, the independent freeholders, will assert the clear right you derive from the constitution of naming your own representatives. If ministers can once usurp the power of declaring who shall NOT be your representative, the next step is very easy, and will follow speedily; it is that of telling you, whom you SHALL send to parliament, and then the boasted constitution of England will be entirely torn up by the roots. The parliaments of Great Britain will become not only as insignificant as those of France, a meer state-engine of government, but a grievous burthen and infinite mischief to the nation. The present great crisis affords the opportunity of asserting your most valuable privileges, and of shewing yourselves superior to the insolent mandates of a minister, who has the presumption to treat Englishmen as slaves.

The rights of this free kingdom, gentlemen, have been frequently violated in my person. You have now in me the opportunity of vindicating them, and I hope without the reproach of vanity I may add, that my firmness in the support of our common liberty, under circumstances equally perilous and intricate, has secured me your confidence, and will be considered by you as a proof that you may again safely honour me with this fresh testimony of your esteem, the chusing me a second time the representative of my native county in parliament.

I am, Gentlemen,

With true regard and gratitude,

Your most obedient and affectionate humble servant,

King's Bench Prison, Saturday, Feb. 4, 1769.

JOHN WILKES.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Middlesex.

GENTLEMEN,

I Regret exceedingly that my situation deprives me of the honour of paying my personal respects to you on the present occasion, and once more soliciting myself your votes to represent my native county in parliament. I am just now informed, that the election is fixed for Thursday next, the 16th instant. Your early attendance in my favour at Brentford that morning I shall always acknowledge is an additional obligation to the many you have already conferred on, Gentlemen.

Your faithful, and

obedient humble servant,

King's Bench Prison,

Thursday, Feb. 9.

JOHN WILKES.

N. B. Coaches will be provided at all the former places.

In consequence of the above address, an advertisement was inserted in the papers for the freeholders to meet at Mile End assembly room; and on Tuesday the 15th, at a very numerous meeting of the freeholders, it was unanimously resolved to confirm their former choice, by re-electing John Wilkes, Esq;—George Bellas, Esq; was called to the chair.—James Townsend, Esq; member of parliament for Westloo, in Cornwall, recommended the re-election of Mr. Wilkes in a very elegant and animated speech; in which he observed, that he had never seen or spoken to Mr. Wilkes before his late expulsion; that he regarded his cause solely as the cause of the people, divested of every personal consideration or connection; that the oppression and injuries which Mr. Wilkes had suffered were sufficient to rouse the indignation of every man that had one generous sentiment in his breast, or the least sense of freedom and regard for the constitution: and that he would assert the right of the freeholders to the choice of their representatives, by going to give his vote for Mr. Wilkes in case of future expulsions, as long as he should have a shilling left, or one leg to hop down to Brentford.

John Sawbridge, Esq; member for Hithe, in Kent, seconded this motion with great spirit, concluding with the words of Mr. Wilkes's address;—that if once the ministry shall be permitted to say whom the freeholders shall not chuse, the next step will be to tell them whom they shall chuse.

Mr. Horne; Samuel Vaughan, Esq; Sir Francis Blake Delaval, Esq;—Eyre, Esq;—Jones, Esq; and many other gentlemen of property and character, spoke to the same effect.

On Thursday the 16th instant, the election came on at Brentford, when Mr. Wilkes was re-elected for the county of Middlesex, by the unanimous voice of at least TWO THOUSAND OF THE MOST RESPECTABLE FREEHOLDERS, who, notwithstanding it proved a very wet day, attended at Brentford, at their own expence, early in the morning, to support his re-election, lest any candidate, in the interest of the court, should have been attempted, by a party, to have been surprized upon the county, at the hustings. He was put up by Mr. Sawbridge, and seconded by James Townsend, Esq; member for Westloo, each of whom made a short and excellent speech upon the occasion. After Mr. Wilkes was put up and no opposition appeared, about an hundred freeholders signed a deed of approbation; after which Mr. Wilkes was declared duly elected. Mr. Townsend, as locum tenens for Mr. Wilkes, was chaired and carried through the town. Every thing was conducted with the most remarkable peace and good order; and when the re-election was declared, there were the most loud and unanimous shouts of applause. Too much cannot be said in praise of the freeholders, who, to preserve order, went in small bodies: many were preceded by music, to shew their joy at the opportunity they

had to testify, in the most *effectual* manner, their strict adherence to the rights and privileges of freeholders in electing the man they like.—Mr Sheriff Hallifax received great applause for his conduct and impartiality.

The several cavalcades that went through the city to vote for Mr. Wilkes, were more respectable than at any of the former elections; the friends of that gentleman having greatly increased among people of reputation since the late proceedings against him.

The succeeding day Mr. Wilkes published an address to the following purport.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy and Freeholders of the County of Middlesex.

GENTLEMEN,

THE zeal and unanimity you have shewn this day for the maintenance of our most valuable privileges against the late attack of a despotic administration, will for ever reflect the truest honour on yourselves and on this county. With every sentiment of gratitude and respect, I beg leave to acknowledge the repeated distinction you have been pleased to make of me on this occasion. I am the more happy, because I consider my re-election by the free and unanimous voice of my countrymen as the most direct and full testimony you could give to the world, that you approve my conduct, relative to the publication of the *Preface*, and the *Secretary of State's Letter*, which was followed by the horrid murders committed in my sight near the walls of this prison. I obeyed your *instructions*, Gentlemen, in that only instance in my power, although I was in custody at the bar of the house of commons. I thought it my duty, as your representative, earnestly to press an enquiry into the transactions of the military of that day of cruelty and carnage, a day of indelible disgrace to the annals of England, and even to humanity. I pledged myself to bring evidence to the bar of the house of commons in support of the charge I had stated, and whenever parliament shall make inquiry for the innocent blood spilt here on the tenth of May, I am sure my worthy colleague, Mr. Glynn, will do justice to this injured country in the house, and I will not be wanting to the cause in this prison, or in the most loathsome dungeon, if indeed I am not as closely and rigorously confined as I was in the Tower. The horror I expressed of the massacre in that *Preface* was made the first and chief pretence of my expulsion, as I now find from the *Votes*. As to every thing else alledged against me, the courts of law have full satisfaction, and the whole happened some years before your former choice, before I had devoted myself to your service.

On Saturday February 18, appeared the following advertisement.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Middlesex.

GENTLEMEN,

THE unanimity you have shewn, in the second choice of me as your representative, has not prevented my second expulsion; another writ is ordered, and I must again entreat you to confirm your former choice, by honouring me a third time with your votes at the ensuing election, which will be at Brentford on the 16th of March. I will never give up the cause, nor quit the service of my constituents, and I make no doubt that your perseverance in support of your own rights, by a repeated exertion of the powers you derive from the constitution, will, in the end, be crowned with the desired success. In case of any future expulsions, I will regularly repeat to you the offer of my humble services, that you may have again and again, an opportunity of vindicating your most valuable privileges, the right of all the electors of this kingdom, which I will never abandon or betray.

I hope none of my friends will be absent from Brentford on the 16th of March, and I shall be particularly obliged for their early appearance.

King's bench Prison,

I am, Gentlemen, your faithful humble servant,

JOHN WILKES

On Feb. 20, there was a large and respectable meeting at the London Tavern, in Bishopsgate Street, at which many members of the house of commons attended; and a subscription was set on foot to support his cause, when the sum of £3340 was immediately subscribed, and a committee appointed to carry the same throughout the kingdom.

On the 22d, there was a meeting of the freeholders of Middlesex, at the assembly room, Mile End, in behalf of John Wilkes, Esq; There were present near four hundred gentlemen, freeholders of the county of Middlesex. At twelve o'clock, Mr. Townsend was desired by the general voice to take the chair, who expressed his disapprobation of the measures taken to compel the freeholders of Middlesex to give up their constitutional right of electing any gentleman they think proper to send as their representative to the house of commons; and having produced many instances of former expulsions, assured the gentlemen that none of those could in any wise affect the case of Mr. Wilkes; for none of them were attempted to be inflicted but where the misconduct or crime of the sitting member proved him to be unworthy to be trusted with the liberty and property of his country. In which argument he was seconded by Mr. Sawbridge and the Rev. Mr. Horne, who read a case in point, which happened in the present reign, of an expulsion, re-expulsion, and even an act of assembly in the island of Barbadoes, and their whole proceedings in the same case disannulled by our gracious K—— and C—— as an invasion upon the rights of the people to chuse their representatives. Several more gentlemen delivered their sentiments to the same effect. Sir Francis B. Delaval stood up to vindicate his own character and conduct in the present proceedings, pledging his honour that he never did, nor never will oppose Mr. Wilkes, either in the county of Middlesex or elsewhere. Each of the speakers concluded with an exhortation to unanimity in their perseverance to maintain their right of election, to be dutiful to the king, to oppose bad men, and bad measures, to preserve the peace on all occasions, and to vote for Mr. Wilkes, and Mr. Wilkes ONLY. It was then put to the vote, whether they would unanimously, and at their own expence, support the election of Mr. Wilkes on the 16th of March next, and to use the utmost of their endeavours to bring as many friends as possible to Brentford on that occasion? When it was unanimously agreed so to do, and it was added, *UNA VOCE*, that they would rather lose their lives than their liberties.

On Friday Feb. 10, a Common-hall of the livery of the city of London was held at Guildhall, when Mr. Clavey, an eminent linen-draper, and one of the common-council of Farringdon Ward Within, was appointed chairman. Soon after which, the livery being informed, that Mr. Alderman Beckford was in the council chamber, some of the gentlemen were deputed to wait on him to desire his presence, with which he complied with his usual readiness, whenever the livery of London have requested his assistance. Mr. Beckford then entered the hall, amidst the greatest acclamations, and ascending the hustings, addressed himself to the livery to the following purport:

"I am informed, Gentlemen, that you intend to instruct your representatives. This resolution of your's is perfectly right, for it is constitutional. If any instructions should be given to me, which may be inconsistent with my own sentiments, I shall always take the liberty, with decency and humility, to say, that, in my opinion, they are improper; but far be it from me to oppose my own judgment to that of 6000 of my fellow citizens.

That giving instructions is according to law, and the custom of parliament; we have the authority of that great oracle of the law, Lord Coke. [4th Institute, page 14.] It must be so in the nature of things; for formerly representatives were paid wages by their constituents, but in some late houses of parliament (I beg I may not be understood here as meaning to cast the least reflection upon the present, which is the most incorrupt I ever knew; all the world know them to be gentlemen of indisputable integrity) but in some late houses of parliament the representatives have rather chosen to receive pay and pensions from ministers than from their constituents." He concluded with advising the livery, in their instructions, to attend to measures and not men, which he declared he himself had always done; and that he never would accept of place, pension, title, or any emolument whatsoever.

A set of instructions were then read twice over, when some additions were proposed, and they were afterwards put up by the chairman, article by article, and the sense of the livery taken on each, and all unanimously agreed to. They are as follow:

GUILDHALL, Feb. 10, 1769.

To Sir Robert Ladbrooke, Knt. William Beckford, Esq; the Right Hon. Thomas Harley, Esq; and Barlow Trecothick, Esq; Aldermen, the Representatives in Parliament for the City of London.

GENTLEMEN,

WE, your constituents, assembled in the Guildhall of London, fully sensible of the value of the laws and constitution, transmitted to us by our ancestors, and firmly resolved to preserve this inheritance entire, as we have received it, think it our indispensable duty at this time, as well as our undoubted right, to instruct you, our representatives in parliament, as follows:

1. We recommend, that you exert your utmost endeavours, that the proceedings in the case of libels, and all other criminal matters, may be confined to the known rules of law, and not rendered dangerous to the subject by forced constructions, new modes of enquiry, unconstitutional tribunals, or new and unusual punishments, tending to take away or diminish the benefit of trial by juries.
2. That you carefully watch over the great bulwark of our liberties, the Habeas Corpus Act; and that you enquire into, and censure any attempt to elude, or enervate the force of that law.
3. That you preserve equally inviolate the privilege of parliament, and the rights of the electors in the choice of their representatives.
4. That you do not discourage petitions, by selecting such parts thereof as may tend not to relieve, but to criminate the petitioner, so as to prevent all approach to your house, by which means the most essential article of the declaration of rights may be eluded, or rendered of the less effect.
5. That you endeavour to prevent all application of the publick money to influence elections of members to serve in parliament.
6. That you give no countenance to the dangerous doctrine of constructive treasons, or to the application of doubtful or uncertain laws to this interesting object, nor suffer ministers to be invested with a vague and discretionary power of judging on, or prosecuting this offence, and that you will vigorously oppose any measures tending to introduce modes and cir-

circumstances of trial, which may render it difficult or impossible for the party accused to obtain full and equal justice.

7. That you will, as the representatives of this great commercial city, be particularly attentive to the interest of the manufactures, and the trade of this kingdom in all parts of the world, and more especially in the British American colonies, the only profitable trade this kingdom enjoys unrivaled by other nations; for which purpose we recommend your utmost endeavours to reconcile the unhappy differences subsisting between the mother country and the colonies, the fatal effects of which have, in part, been severely felt by the manufacturer, and the commercial part of this kingdom.

8. That you will, at this time particularly, attend to the preservation of publick faith, the sole foundation of publick credit; and that you do not, upon any pretence of publick good whatsoever, concur in any measure that shall tend to weaken or destroy that faith.

9. That you use your utmost endeavours that the civil magistracy of this kingdom be put on a respectable footing, and thereby remove the pretence of calling in a military force, and preserve this nation from a calamity which has already been fatal to the liberties of every kingdom round us, and which we at this day are beginning to feel.

10. That you promote a strict enquiry into the use which has lately been made of military power, whether any encouragement has been given to premature or injudicious military *audacity*, and whether any undue measures have been taken to prevent or elude the course of public justice on such an occasion.

11. That you use your best endeavours for having a standing committee appointed, from time to time, to examine and to state the publick accounts.

12. That if any demand should come before parliament for payment of the debts of the civil list, you will diligently enquire how those debts have been incurred, to the prejudice of the subject, and the dignity of the crown.

13. That you will promote a bill for limiting the number of placemen and pensioners in the House of Commons, for preventing the peers of Great Britain from interfering in elections for members of parliament, and that an oath to prevent bribery and corruption be taken not only by the electors, but also by the candidates, at the opening of the poll.

14. That you use your utmost endeavours to obtain an act to shorten the duration of parliaments; and lastly, we submit it to your consideration, whether a change in the present mode of election, to that of ballot, would not be the most likely method of procuring a return of members on the genuine and uncorrupt sense of the people.

(Signed)

CHARLES CLAVEY.

Chairman of the Common-Hall.

Mr. Beckford, when one of the instructions, relative to the short duration of parliaments, was proposed, took occasion to say, "that the triennial parliament, which voted themselves to sit for seven years, had just as much right to vote themselves for forty, or any other number; but he thought annual parliaments would be best. However he recommended that no stipulated time should be mentioned."

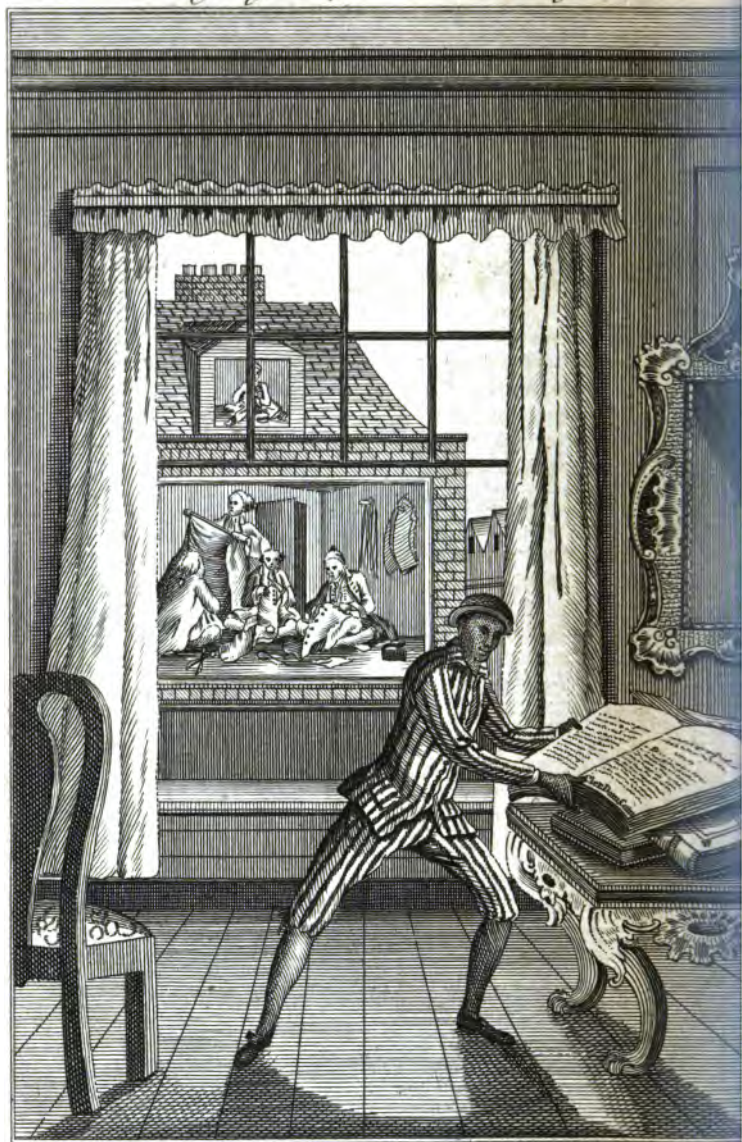
There never was a more respectable appearance of the livery, and the whole meeting was conducted with the utmost order and decorum.

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Mungo.

T H E

POLITICAL REGISTER,

For A P R I L, 1769.

N U M B E R XXV.

The humble Remonstrance of a loyal Subject of MONOMOTAPA to his SOVEREIGN, continued. See our last Number.

THE smile of gracious approbation, and the cheering aspect of royal condescension beams from your countenance, and animates your faithful servant to proceed in his remonstrance.

And have I indeed laid before your majesty the true model of a perfect administration? Then let us return to the happy æra of your accession, and observe how far your own royal declarations to your people gave them reason to hope, that administrations formed on such a model would have taken place and have continued to enjoy the confidence of prince and people to this hour. A retrospective view of your own sentiments at that time, will serve to lead us to the true cause, why administrations of a different complexion have been successively established, and as quickly removed during a course of eight years, without the least prospect of acquiring unanimity, stability or popularity to government. Your majesty's royal proclamation for the encouragement of religion and virtue, and for discountenancing all manner of profaneness, vice and immorality, at the commencement of your reign, promised a general reformation throughout your extensive dominions, and the expectations of this desirable event were raised to the highest pitch, when your majesty was pleased further to declare, that none but virtuous, moral

characters should approach your sacred person, or fill the high offices of state; nay, when an example of this your pious resolution was given by an open resentment of the immoral conduct of a noble officer in a case of conjugal infidelity, attended with the aggravating circumstance of a seduction of, and elopement with, a young lady of distinction: such sentiments, and such a tenour of virtuous conduct, had it been persisted in, must have endeared your majesty to your people, and have dried up the very sources of faction, intrigue and cabal: for who would have been so hardy to attempt to corrupt a select ministry, or a court where genuine virtue paved the way to honourable preferment. No sinister views of any party could then have prevailed: but this system once laid aside, an instance was given of irresolution and want of fortitude in the royal mind, which the sons of fell ambition and all-grasping avarice no sooner perceived, than they readily seized the advantage, and proclaimed through the land, the inconstancy of their sovereign.

Then it was that your people divined the true cause of the revolution in court principles, which took place, and manifested itself immediately by a removal of the most steady friends of your royal house, and of the most virtuous characters about the throne: they perceived, with regret, that some secret restraining power checked the exertion of your patriotic sentiments in their favour: the event has shewn that their suspicions were but too well founded; a series of administrations framed in direct opposition to your virtuous declarations, has thoroughly opened their eyes; and they have not scrupled incessantly to shew their detestation and abhorrence of that evil eclipsing genius, which obscures the rays of your glory, tarnishes the lustre of your diadem, offuscates your royal virtues, and threatens a total alienation of your people's affections; while it converts their dutiful obedience into a mere languid act of necessary obligation.

However indecently, therefore, it may have been expressed, certain it is, that the people early discovered the true cause of that change in your majesty's councils, which has produced, contrary to their sanguine expectations, a general encouragement to profaneness, vice and immorality, by calling to the highest offices of the state, men of the weakest abilities, and of the most debauched, profligate principles. The voice of the people loudly proclaims that this is the handy work of an ambitious, lustful favourite; and as they never will believe that the realm of Monomotapa, or its sovereign can enjoy any true happiness, while his baleful influence continues, so neither will they be persuaded to imagine

gine, his credit is in the least diminished, while the same weak measures are pursued, and the same profligate, insufficient characters have the management of public affairs; though he himself should personally retire ten thousand leagues from your dominions.

Your majesty is too well versed in the history of Monomotapa, not to know that the inhabitants of this ancient kingdom have ever borne an implacable hatred to prime ministers, for which reason the wisest of our monarchs never bestowed the royal confidence on one man, but always distributed that, and all other favours equally among the great officers of state, and the reigns of these monarchs are the happiest on record; so great indeed is the people's aversion to this creature of power, that it has often produced the noblest effects, though personally fatal to deluded princes or their favourites: while this aversion continues, the constitution is safe; and while the constitution is maintained in its original purity, and no longer, is your majesty in safety, for the history of all governments, however despotic, verifies this remark.—When once that preliminary tyrant a prime minister, either by himself or his agents, demonstrates an intention only to violate the rights and privileges of the people, we may be assured he has already enthralled his master, but when he or they proceed to overt acts of oppression, it then becomes absolutely necessary to sacrifice the prime agent to the general resentment of an incensed nation; where this has been neglected or refused, the throne itself has not long remained secure; and give me leave to say, that the unwarrantable power, which has for years past been exercised in various shapes, both at home and in the colonies, under the direction of an all-ruling favourite, is highly alarming, and justifies every, even the most violent and imprudent measures that have been taken against him and his agents.

Your people have beheld luxury, sloth, effeminacy and corruption breaking in upon them, like a torrent, they have found that one man enjoying the highest degree of royal confidence, has been the promoter of this destructive change of manners; and they cannot doubt of his intention to enslave them: his ambitious views have ever been mixing themselves with the affairs of the nation, and he has made luxury, with its attendant elegancies, an engine of state, employing it as a means of impoverishing and humbling the people, that they may be governed with more ease, and plundered with less risque. If the nation, under these circumstances, had tamely suffered this corrupter to continue in the free, open,

full exercise of his power, they might justly have been accused of consenting to their own ruin: it therefore became necessary to oppose him with spirit and resolution, and nothing less than that universal odium and contempt with which your people loaded him, could have effected his removal from the highest office of the state; for it is not a small matter that frightens statesmen from their purpose. Necessity drives them on; and he, who has once made an attack upon the constitution of his country, will never think himself safe from public justice, but by its total subversion, which therefore he will endeavour to accomplish, though at the peril of his head.

It will be needless to enumerate the measures this grand seducer took, while in office, to inflame the people against him, and to cool their zeal and loyalty to your majesty; one memorable instance is sufficient to brand his name to latest posterity: the infamous removal from their respective employments in your service, of those who either conscientiously refused to approve the peace, which your majesty concluded with your enemies in 1763, when urged to it in the supreme assemblies of Monomotapa, or who having influence with the members, by ties of blood, did not exert it to engage them to applaud that master-piece of false policy, which was justly laughed at by all Europe. Your majesty should be the first to despise, nay, even to detest the man, who could advise you to make such a peace; at a time when your victorious arms brought home honour, riches, and increase of commerce from all quarters of the globe: a peace which bereft you of every ally, and left your principal enemy in full possession of the most potent on the continent: a peace which provided no solid security whatever for the performance of covenants; even after the repeated instances that had been given to your predecessors of the superior cunning and artifice of these enemies in matters of negotiation, of their perfidy in violating all treaties on the most frivolous occasions, where proper security was not required and given; and what is still more remarkable, after they themselves had set the example to this kingdom, of mistrusting the honour of its sovereign, by demanding *hostages* for the due performance of the articles of a former treaty of peace. Conquest had animated your people, and given all ranks of men an ardour and zeal for the public service, and for supporting the dignity of the British crown, never was a kingdom better supplied with fleets and armies, with abler commanders or braver men, a proportionate success every where attended their enterprizes; and nothing but an upright;
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active, patriotic minister was wanting, to have enabled your majesty to fix the terms of reconciliation with respect to your own dominions, and to have secured for a course of many years the blessings of peace to Europe, of the fate of which another year of victory would have rendered you the sole arbiter. Shame, eternal shame, then dwell with the man who counselled my lord the king to make an inglorious peace, by which the best fruits of our conquests were given up; a peace which was never intended by the enemy to be of longer duration, than till the exhausted state of their finances should be recruited, and their marine be restored; and which being only binding by seals and signatures, not by any guarantees or collateral securities, they daily convince you, they mean to break with the first opportunity, while in the interim they pay no regard to the representations of your ambassadors, but openly refuse to comply with some material conditions of this peace; such as the filling up of the *sluice of Berg* in a certain maritime port, called *Dunkirk*, which has always been a port highly obnoxious to your majesty's trading subjects in time of war; yet it is a well known fact, that your head engineer, the late colonel D—, who, with his officers under him, resided there from the conclusion of the peace at no less expence to your people than five pounds *per diem*, often declared, that the stopping up the *cunette*; the demolishing the *basin*, and the lowering the *jetties*, were all mere bagatelles of no moment, in comparison with the *sluice of Berg*; which was made in 1756, and answers all the purposes of cleansing the harbour at pleasure; nay, I call on the detested favourite and all his succeeding tools and agents in administration, to declare if the said honest old colonel did not make frequent representations on this head, but without effect, particularly to the duke of R—d, one of your majesty's ambassadors, who saw the necessity of destroying this sluice, who was on the spot, and made sensible, by your engineers, of its operations, and who could not deny that the demolition of it was strictly stipulated in the treaty; but mark the progress of chicanery, and the weakness of your ministers; the F—h insist that the place was to be reduced to the situation it was in by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, and former treaties; this indeed is the tenour of the article in the inglorious treaty of peace relative to it; now say they, the *sluice of Berg* being made in 1756, the demolition of it cannot be included in the stipulation for reducing the port to the state it was in by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, which was made in 1748, before the existence of this sluice. I believe your majesty must see the fallacy of this reasoning, for if there was no such sluice
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when the treaty of 1748 took effect; undoubtedly there should not be any such at this hour, if the treaty of 1763 was duly attended to; and this object is so important, that the neglect of it ought to excite national resentment against your favourite for making a peace, the strict observance of which, disadvantageous as it was, neither he nor his servants have had the spirit to demand. I hope however for the satisfaction of an injured people, some skilful engineer will publish a description of this famous sluice or floodgate, by means of which I have seen the water of the canal of Berg raised eighteen feet above its ordinary level in a few hours; and then the sluices being opened, this body of water has effectually scoured the harbour, though choaked up with mud and sand, while the deluded people residing in Monomotapa were made to believe, that the stopping up the *cunette*, and the cutting down the *jetties* a few feet, had rendered the harbour inaccessible for ships of burthen.

But your majesty, by the treaty of 1763, was to provide for the salubrity of the town, by some other means, if you thought proper to demolish the sluices, and the inhabitants say they have no method of carrying off the stagnated backwaters, but by the *sluice of Berg*: this I have heard fully refuted, and that by the clearest demonstration from plans of the ancient situation of the port, which were laid before me by the same worthy colonel, who with a candour seldom to be met with, often lamented to me his being stationed there without a power of effecting the only service which could possibly compensate for the expences of his appointment. By his old plans it appeared that before the *sluice of Berg* was constructed, the back-waters were carried off by the *sluice of Mar-dyke*, which equally provided for the salubrity of the air, but having no communication with the harbour, could not answer the valuable purpose of cleansing it: but we need not now be confined to a reference to those plans, the F——h court having permitted the publication of twelve plans, representing the different alterations in this famous port from the earliest date to the present time, which publication is a standing, open memorial of the stupidity of Monomotapa's negociators; and of the supineness, timidity or perfidy of those who have held the reins of her government since the late peace.

Having thus pointed out the source of our national evils, and instanced one glaring circumstance, which must at once condemn the peace maker, and his succeeding agents, who have suffered it to be violated with impunity, I shall leave him

him in his retirement to groan beneath the weight of a nation's displeasure, and pursue the steps of his different vicegerents, who, by adopting his systems of government, have thrown the state into strong convulsions, from which it will not easily be recovered.

Though a majority of the members of the grand assembly of the tribunes of Monomotapa had been brought over, by the exertion of every ministerial art of seduction, to approve the inglorious peace of 1763, yet a most respectable minority shewed a becoming abhorrence and detestation of the prime minister who advised the destructive measure; and animated by their glorious example, several able political writers took up the pen in order to convince the body of your people, that this enemy to the state had availed himself of your majesty's youth and inexperience, and had abused the royal confidence, by engaging you to terminate a most successful war, by a peace totally inadequate to the advantages you had gained over the enemy. One writer in particular distinguished himself by more spirited and manly attacks on the ministry, than any of his contemporaries; depending on the freedom of the constitution of Monomotapa, which gives to all your majesty's subjects an unalienable right of arraigning the conduct of yours and the public's servants, and of calling them to account for mal-administration, he ventured boldly to animadvert on the speech delivered by your majesty to the two grand assemblies of the nation, in which your majesty is pleased to justify your minister in all his measures relative to the peace.

Well apprized, as this great writer was, that the whole of this speech was framed by the minister and his adherents, he considered it as such, for which he had many precedents, and openly declared that some assertions contained in it were glaring falsities: no sooner was the remarkable paper published which thus exposed the weakness, if not the perfidy of the minister, than a most impolitic step was taken, which may be deemed the source of all the internal commotions that have since happened in consequence of that paper;—fired with the lust of vengeance, the grand seducer found means to inflame your royal breast, to prevail on you to make his cause your own, and to construe into a personal insult and indignity, expressions which were meant to convey to the people the sentiments of some of their ablest representatives, and of the independent nobles of the land, respecting so capital an object of national concern, as a treaty of peace,—which ought, at least, to have indemnified the public for the enormous debt contracted during the war, and to have placed such a firm barrier against the restless ambition of

of the enemy, as should put it out of their power to disturb the tranquillity of the kingdom of Monomotapa for a course of many years. Your people, therefore, heard with the deepest concern that the contagion of a narrow, personal resentment had spread through the whole court, and that your majesty had complained to the assembled senate of a paper, which had it not been noticed in this singular manner, could not possibly have produced any disturbance in the kingdom, though it might have strengthened the national dislike to the favourite; but this impolitic measure once taken, which served as a signal for the violent prosecution of the writer, the people saw that the opposition the favourite had met with, had so sharpened his ill humour, that he was become as mischievous and sanguinary as a provoked wild beast broke loose from his den; that depending on the royal support and confidence, he would commit any excesses to gratify his revenge on all his enemies, and would make a striking example, *in terrorem*, of the author of this paper, under the covert and sanction of resenting an indignity offered to your majesty;—accordingly, the very fabric of the constitution of Monomotapa was shaken to its basis, in order to wreak vengeance on the devoted head of this son of freedom. Not only the liberty of the press, that darling privilege of the people, was grossly invaded, but seizures of the persons and effects of your majesty's subjects were made, contrary to the known laws of the land: their houses were no securities against the rapine and violence of the officers of the crown, who were the tools and agents of this all powerful criminal, and such acts of arbitrary oppression took place under the shadow of regal authority, in order to obtain evidence against the destined victim, as justly alarmed the whole kingdom, and made every man tremble for his life and property, now subjected to the despotical will of secretaries of state, acting without law, and under the immediate direction of a protected favourite, whose sway was become so absolute, that though retired from public view, he no less secured himself in the plenitude of power, by recommending to your majesty such servants only, as he knew were blindly devoted to him and all his measures. No wonder then, that the spirit of the people broke forth, that the bands of opposition were strengthened, that murmurings were changed into invectives, and these even into insurrections; for what prospect remained that the public affairs of the nation would be attended to, while administration was wholly taken up with disturbing the domestic felicity of your subjects, and violating the rights of the whole people to accomplish the destruction of one man who had offended, not
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the king, but their imperious master: the particulars of the cruel prosecution carried on against him, and which finally ended in his exile, are too recent to need repetition, but they have left one reflection upon the minds of your subjects never to be forgotten, which is, that when once a government is made a series of jobb-work, where all is begun and ended on ambitious and selfish principles, where no views are pursued to promote the true renown of the prince, or the prosperity of his dominions, but all center in one point of continuing for life the undue influence of a minion,—no regard will be paid to the troubles it may occasion, even though civil wars should be the consequence, or such national calamities as must terminate in the ruin of both prince and people.

The end once obtained of removing from the kingdom a formidable writer in the cause of liberty, against ministerial oppression and corruption, the triumph on this occasion was soon followed by a bolder attempt on the native rights of your majesty's subjects in the northern colony of Monomugi, a people ever zealous in your majesty's service, and who had exhausted their strength in defence of their country against the common enemy, during the war, were not suffered to enjoy the first fruits of peace, but were called upon before they had replenished their coffers by the profits of commerce to submit to such a tax, as had it been levied upon them, must have dried up the very sources of their trade, and have impoverished the whole country, but it seems the iron rod of ministerial oppression was not to be confined to Monomotapa alone, her colonies were to feel the scourge under which she groaned; happily, however, for the commercial interests of the mother country, this virtuous, sober, temperate race of men would not tamely see their liberties invaded, and finding that their just remonstrances had no effect, they boldly opposed the execution of a measure, which must inevitably have ended in their destruction; and as surely have overturned the public credit of Monomotapa. A wayward peevish senator, who once made a conspicuous figure in the cabinet, luckily, through caprice more than principle, at this time espoused their cause at home, and still enjoying the confidence of the people, and a considerable share of weight in the senate, a repeal of the pernicious act, which authorised a heavy imposition on the colonies, was obtained, the ministry that had carried it into a law, were removed, and for a moment your people gladly believed, that the favourite's interest at court was on the decline. An administration being formed under the immediate direction of the immortal hero, who

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delivered this nation from the horror of an unnatural rebellion in the reign of your predecessor: an administration composed of the most respectable characters, who like their great patron had shewn a generous contempt of the favourite and all his adherents, and an open opposition to his measures, for which one of them had been ingloriously dismissed from a military command, after having done his country the most signal services in the field. The whole nation seemed to rejoice at this happy change, especially as the colonies were freed thereby from the oppressive commercial restrictions, laid on them by the preceeding ministry, while tranquillity and good order was universally restored,—but alas this administration, which likewise had eased the subjects at home of a vexatious tax, and had set out so gloriously, fell into disgrace on the death of their patron; the same all ruling influence of the mighty favourite again prevailing, deprived them of your majesty's confidence, and having effected a division among them, accomplished their removal at the very time when they had acquired such a degree of popularity, as would have enabled them to crush him entirely, had they continued united.

I am now come to that period when your majesty thought proper to bestow the highest office in the state, and which gives him who holds it the titular dignity of prime minister, on a young nobleman of the first rank, whose youth and inexperience, joined to his remarkable duplicity of character, might qualify him indeed to act the part of a crafty statesman at a petty, corrupt court, but could not by any means recommend him to a virtuous monarch, as a proper person to take upon him the administration of the affairs of a free, commercial state. Accordingly, we have seen nothing but division, anarchy and confusion prevail in the cabinet, and without doors, ever since his unfortunate accession to power: the few associates in the ministry at his first setting out, who were capable of giving him sound advice, and of checking the impetuosity of youth, were soon displaced, and the choice companions of his nocturnal revels, with some gentlemen of the turf, a noted bacchanal, and the celebrated peace-botcher were called in as coadjutors to this great man, who having all bound themselves in a solemn league to follow implicitly the dictates of the favourite, the government is entrusted in their hands, with greater confidence than was shewn to former administrations, for the supreme dictator has ventured to leave the kingdom, nor can his presence be necessary, while his commands are so punctually executed; indeed, before he withdrew, he put this present despicable ministry, severally and respectively, to such proofs of attachment to his
despotic

despotic principles, as could not fail to engage him to place an entire reliance on their future conduct. What could your majesty expect from an administration, composed of men, who had served an apprenticeship to brothels and gaming-houses? Surely, nothing better than a total neglect of foreign affairs, and such a mismanagement of domestic concerns as could only tend to increase the spirit of opposition, to foment party animosities, and in a word, to render your majesty's reign turbulent and dissatisfactory to yourself, and to your people.

It will be needless to refer any more to the description given of a perfect administration, to shew that the present bears not the least resemblance to it in any one point, a short review of their oppressive measures at home, and of their timid, pusillanimous, irresolute conduct, with respect to national objects abroad, will place this in a clear light. To begin with the latter: The Manilla ransom has been totally given up; the demolition of *the sluice of Berg*, in the port of *Dunkirk*, is no longer insisted on; the brave Corsicans, whose independency it is the interest of Monomotapa to preserve, have been abandoned to the fury of their enemies, because our insufficient administration do not see the commercial advantages, which must result to France from the possession of this island, and the necessity of attending to the revival of our expiring commerce to the Mediterranean; never sure was a greater instance given of folly and inconsistency in a minister, than to suffer the rivals of Monomotapa to extend and secure their trading interest in those parts, and at the same time to stop the progress of commerce in the northern colony of Monomugi, by a revival of those unhappy disputes with the mother country, which had been successfully terminated by the former ministry, to the mutual advantage of both. A flourishing commerce carried on with her colonies, sufficient to consume all the manufactures she could possibly make, and fully to employ all her trading subjects at home, has been urged of late years as a standing apology, for suffering the commerce of Monomotapa in the several parts of Europe to go to decay; on the strength of this argument, all infringements of treaties of commerce, all impositions of duties on British merchandize, contrary to stipulated treaties, nay, the depriving our merchants of certain rights and privileges, which they enjoyed in many European states, has been overlooked, and when remonstrances have been made on these subjects, by your majesty's ministers and consuls, residing in those states, they have constantly been answered, that trade was turned into a different channel, and that we had as much

as we could carry on with our colonies; but surely, Sire, it must be downright madness to quarrel with these colonies, to stop the current of trade there, and at the same time to suffer every source of commerce in Europe to be seized with impunity, by our dangerous rivals. If we must at all events subdue the free spirit of the inhabitants of our northern colonies, let us do it at least with safety to the ancient commercial state of Monomotapa; before we run the hazard of a civil war in these parts, it will be but prudent to secure the means of carrying on as extensive and as flourishing a commerce with other countries.

But objects of such importance are far above the capacity of the vice-prime, indeed the touching at all upon the state of foreign concerns, or the supposing his attention in the least engaged by them, is doing him too much honour, since it is evident that nothing at all has been done in them, since he came into office: the domestic scene, however, has been active and full of business. The rejection of all the friends of liberty, in whose cause, the present minister appeared as an early champion, the offering a conciliating, acceptable sacrifice at the shrine of the favourite to atone for past opposition, and the removal of former patrons, now become troublesome associates in office, engrossed his whole attention for some time; for it required all the cunning and artifice of a staunch courtier to accomplish such difficult points, and at the same time to continue in power; but the sacrifice once made, it became necessary to enter into all the views of his new patron, and consequently to pursue his plan of revenge on his sworn enemies. On this footing the private property, the real estate of one of the first peers of the land was seized on the idle pretext of establishing an obsolete claim of the crown, and your majesty's name, nay, your reputation, which ought to be held sacred, suffered severely by this unprecedented step; but who can express the astonishment of your subjects, when they saw the estate so seized, by the rapacious hands of the vice minister, given to the son-in-law of his new patron, and your old favourite; from that moment your people saw that the destructive influence of the old seducer was daily gaining fresh strength, and was likely to be carried to a greater length, under the present administration, than it had ever been since your majesty's accession: the return of the celebrated exile, and the renewal of the most bitter persecutions, under the immediate direction of the very minister, who as a private subject, while in opposition to the favourite, had been the steady friend of this patriot, sufficiently marked his character; and shewed that his public as well

well as his private conduct would be founded on deceit and treachery. The voice of the people decreed signal honours to the steady supporter of their native rights and privileges; this was too much for the minister's master to bear, and the party concerned in oppressing him grew quite outrageous; however, this intrepid man bravely bore up against the tide of ministerial fury, and finding all access to your majesty, every door to solicitation for a pardon, shut against him by his powerful enemy, he surrendered himself to your court of law, and submitted to the harsh sentence of a heavy fine and long imprisonment. The acclamations of the people attended him, and a false zeal prompted them to rescue him from the hands of rigid justice, but he, who had supported the freedom of the constitution against arbitrary ministers, was determined to trust to that alone for his liberty, and therefore evaded their kindness, and voluntarily accompanied the proper officer to the place of his confinement. Repeated declarations of error in all the proceedings against him, but particularly in the writ of exile, induced the people to look on him as an injured fellow subject, and most men, the ministry and their dependents excepted, thought he had been extremely ill used: no wonder then that curiosity should prompt some, and zeal in his cause a great many more to assemble before the prison, and to shew every mark of their regard to him. This behaviour, joined to the bitter invectives against the administration, contained in almost every daily publication from the press, enraged them to such a degree, that they were determined to commit any excess in support of their power, and to terrify the public into a tame submission to them, and a desertion of the cause of liberty. A little unruly behaviour on the part of the very large body of people, which assembled to express their concern for the imprisonment of this son of freedom, was highly exaggerated, and the peace officers who were in the interest of the ministry took every measure to exasperate a mob, whom it was their duty to appease by every lenient, persuasive measure; till at length a rupture ensued, when instead of calling for an additional civil force, the military power was called in; some say on purpose, and that the whole plan of making an example of some of these unhappy people was preconcerted; be that as it will, a fatal assassination of two, at least, of your majesty's innocent subjects was the consequence, this dreadful transaction: however it may be misrepresented to your majesty by flattering sycophants, will cast such a shade on the annals of your reign as no time shall efface; no atonement therefore can be made either to your majesty or to your people for such
a wound

a wound given to the free constitution of this country, as the employing their own troops, enlisted and paid with their own money, to murder your subjects coolly and deliberately; and I will venture boldly to declare, that your majesty owes the — of the — who advised this measure, to an incensed people, and it is a debt you cannot too soon pay for your own glory, and the satisfaction of your subjects. What, did the unhappy victims who fell on this occasion pay an exorbitant price while they lived for all the necessaries of life, that they might enjoy the protection of government, and did government order their destruction by the very hands to whose support they daily contributed by their honest industry! That this fatal exploit may strike your royal heart with greater horror, permit me to acquaint you that in 1766 one of your subjects happened to transgress a military order in a garrisoned town in Flanders, subject to the house of Austria; the guard immediately arrested him, and the commanding officer refused to release him, but on an application made to the government of the country by one of your majesty's servants, since dismissed from his employment by the same lord who ordered the military force, as above recited, the man was immediately discharged, a severe reprimand was sent to the commanding officer, and a letter to the magistracy of the place, with a duplicate to your servant, wherein that arbitrary government expressly declares, that they will not permit the military on any account to arrest or detain any citizen or stranger, or to exercise any act of jurisdiction whatever, but when expressly called in aid of the civil magistrate, and in that case neither to hurt life nor limb, but only to secure the offender or offenders, and deliver them up to the civil magistrate, to be dealt with according to law.

The insurrections at Lisle and some other cities of France in 1767, on account of the exportation of corn, were attended with every outrageous act of riot, the houses of the chief magistrates were dismantled: the military were called in to aid the civil magistrate: they were maimed and wounded by the rioters, yet they were not permitted to fire, nor was one person killed, though several were hurt by the bayonets before the riot could be suppressed, and the ring-leaders secured, who were afterwards executed.

What then shall we say of the midnight g——r, who ordered your troops to be used effectually, nay, if common report be true, who had allotted the very number it was necessary to sacrifice, in order to drown the voice of liberty, no less than twenty five persons were the destined prey, but his lordship has been long used to a habit
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of staking deep, and playing the losing game, which habit he has transferred from cards to politics; and as to his wooden deputy, who does all his dirty work, the ruins of Palmyra, or of Monomotapa, are alike to him, he regards not consequences, and if news had been brought him that half your majesty's subjects had been reduced to passive obedience and non resistance, by the levelling bullet, he would only have cried out exultingly in his usual style, "*ça va au grand*, the public tranquility is restored, the dispute about liberty, general warrants, illegal seizures of persons and papers, &c. &c. *is torn up by the roots.*"

But it is not sufficient that I have shewn the inability, servile dependance, despotism, cruelty, and revengeful spirit of the present ministry; in order to facilitate their removal it is necessary to inform your majesty that they have in part subverted the constitution of Monomotapa, by interfering in the elections of the tribunes of the people, in order to obtain seats in the grand college of the tribunes for their own creatures and dependants, who are so thoroughly devoted to their interest as to support every measure they take; now the consequence of this may be that your majesty may be made a slave to the minister and his tools, for if they secure a majority in favour of administration, what is this doing but forcing you to continue them in office, however repugnant to your own honour or your people's welfare; and in order to keep up this majority, your majesty will be obliged, regardless of merit, to bestow honours, places and pensions on the worthless, the profligate and abandoned, if they are the mercenary hirelings of a ministry, which has no weight or influence at home or abroad, but what it derives from the mechanical support of numbers.

The outrageous acts of violence lately committed to secure one additional unit to their strength in the college of tribunes, and the rigorous exertions of ministerial authority to exclude from a seat in that college a number more than equal to forty-five of their party, shall close the scene for the present of their arbitrary conduct. As fresh instances arise, they shall be pointed out to your majesty in a different form: it would be irksome to enumerate the many scenes of wanton oppression, and misrule I have left unnoticed, among which was the shameful dismissal of a general officer from your service, I shall therefore close this remonstrance, fully assured that your majesty will not neglect the petitions of your people; but will speedily remove from your councils and countenance for ever, first, the grand seducer, the real prime minister, who has too long

long governed the people with a rod of iron; and secondly, all his avowed and secret abettors, among the foremost of which, I reckon the present jockeying, gambling, debauched, insolvent ministry.

And that your majesty may not be at a loss for able counsellors and upright ministers; let me pray you to peruse once more the draft I have given of a perfect administration, suited to the constitution of Monomotapa; then look around you in this great kingdom, and many hours will not pass before you will be enabled to fill every department of the state with able and virtuous characters; but as my author justly observes, these must be chosen independent of all regard to family connections, or party leagues, and when chosen, an unlimited confidence must be placed in them.

Your majesty has some few able ministers at foreign courts, who have been long abroad, and who, probably, are unconnected with the factions that have divided and disturbed your kingdom; some in whom age and experience has matured early acquired political knowledge; the peaceable situation of public affairs in Europe does not require the residence of these men abroad at present, and they would make excellent secretaries of state: sorry I am, I cannot find a sufficient number of these to fill every department of the state, for to their shame be it spoken, your present ministry have disgraced you abroad, as well as at home, by sending out some light troops from their flying squadrons at A——s and Newm——t to play their old tricks of debauchery and gambling in the respectable characters of Monomotapan ministers at foreign courts.

Publish a royal proclamation, that henceforth no man of ever so great abilities, shall be received into your service upon pecuniary stipulations; that no grant of pensions, or reversions of lucrative employments, will be allowed on any pretence; but that the lawful fees and customary salaries of each office will be deemed a sufficient recompence for the best services. Above all, most gracious sovereign, reserve to yourself the free and independent appointment of every capital officer in the state, whether civil, military; or ecclesiastic, and when you have filled these with worthy characters, conformable to the plan already pointed out, the expences of your civil list will be considerably diminished; it will never be in arrear again; for wise and virtuous men in office will constantly advise your majesty to such salutary measures as will insure your people's affection, and then there will not be any division in the senate, at least none that a virtuous, upright court, framed on the system of public liberty, need to fear; consequently it will not be necessary to ransack your coffers

coffers to purchase majorities; and as to legal prerogative and kingly power, certain I am that the people will bear a more extensive exertion of it in a pious prince, under a virtuous, able ministry, than can possibly be exercised, where the people suspect and dread the measures of a venal, corrupt administration.

May the king of kings direct your majesty to take some such speedy, effectual measure, as has been here pointed out to restore union and harmony, to conciliate the differences with your colonies, to recover the credit and influence of your kingdom with neighbouring states, to revive a declining trade and navigation, to support the vast fabric of public credit, and to establish on a permanent footing the grand basis of all, the liberty of the subject comprized in the freedom of the constitution, and secured by the bill of rights, which paved your majesty's way to the imperial crown of these realms, which that you may long wear with uninterrupted renown and prosperity, is the sincere prayer of, Sire,

A most dutiful, and

M.

loyal subject of Monomotapa.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

The Healths of the following One Hundred and Thirty-Nine Gentlemen are drank in most Publick Companies, being Enemies to Oppression, and Friends to the Liberties of Englishmen.

A.

A S T L E Y, Sir Edward,
Norfolk
Aubrey, John, Wallingford

B.

Blake, Patrick, Sudbury
Baker, William, Plimpton
Barre, Haac, Wycomb
Barrow, Charles, Gloucester
Beauchierck, Aubrey, Aldborough
Beckford, William, London
Blacket, Sir Walter, Newcastle
Bond, John, Corfe Castle
Boulton, Henry Crabb, Worcester
Buller, John, Exeter
Burke, Edmund, Wendover
Burke, William, Bedwin
Bridgman, Sir Henry, Wenlock
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C.

Calcraft, John, Rochester
Calcraft, Thomas, Poole
Calvert, Nicolson, Tewkesbury
Carnac, John, Leominster
Cavendish, Lord George, Derbyshire
Cavendish, Lord Frederick, Derby
Cavendish, Lord John, York
Cavendish, Henry, Lestwithiel
Clayton, Robert, Bletchingly
Clive, Lord, Shrewsbury
Clive, George, Bishop's-Castle
Clive, William, Bishop's-Castle
Coxe, John, Somerset
Codrington, Sir Wm. Tewkesbury

Col-

Colebroke, Sir George, Arundel
 Conolly, Thomas, Chichester
 Cornish, Sir Samuel, Shoreham
 Cornwall, Charles Wolfran, Grampound
 Coventry, Thomas, Bridport
 Crosby, Brafs, Honiton
 Curwen, Henry, Cumberland D.

Damer, John, Gatton
 Damer, John, Dorchester
 Damer, George, Cricklade
 Davers, Sir Charles, Weymouth
 Dering, Sir Edward, Romney
 Dowdeswell, William, Worcesterfhire

Duntze, John, Tiverton F.

Fletcher, Henry, Cumberland
 Fitzmaurice, Thomas, Calne
 Foley, Edward, Droitwich
 Foley, Thomas, Herefordfhire
 Forrester, George, Wenlock
 Frankland, Sir Thomas, Thirsk
 Frankland, William, Thirsk
 Fenwick, Thomas, Westmorland

Fuller, Richard, Stockbridge G.

Glynn, Serjeant, Middlefex
 Grey, Booth, Leicefter
 Grenville, George, Buckingham
 Grenville, Henry, Buckingham
 Grove, Wm. Chaffin, Shaftesbury

Gregory, Robert, Maidstone
 Griffin, Sir John, Andover
 Goddard, Thomas, Wiltfhire
 Gordon, William, Rochester H.

Howard, Thomas, Malmfbury
 Hunt, George, Bodmyn
 Harris, James, Chriftchurch
 Hampden, Thomas, Lewes
 Halfey, Thomas, Hertfordfhire
 Hamilton, William Ger. Old Sarum

Huffey, William, Hindon
 Harbord, Harbord, Norwich

Herbert, Edward, Ludlow
 Hotham, Beaumont, Wigan
 Hanbury, John, Monmouthfhire
 Hay, Thomas, Lewes I.

Jennings, Philip, Totnefs
 Irwin, John, Eafk Griaftead K.

Keck, Anthony J. Newtown
 Keppel, William, Chichefter L.

Ladbroke, Sir Robert, London
 Lowndes, Charles, Bramber
 Ludlow, Lord, Huntingdonfhire
 Lafcelles, Edwin, Yorkfhire
 Lafcelles, Daniel, Northallerton
 Lafcelles, Edward, Northallerton

Lewis, John, Radnor
 Legh, Peter, Newtown M.

Mawbey, Sir Jofeph, Southwark
 Maclean, Lauchlin, Arundel
 Mackworth, Herbert, Cardiffe
 Marfham, Charles, Maidstone
 Mauger, Jofhua, Poole
 Meredith, Sir William, Liverpool

Milles, Richard, Canterbury
 Medlycott, Thomas H. Milborn Port

Mufgrave, George, Carliffe
 Montague, Frederick, Higham O.

Ongley, Robert Henly, Bedfordfhire

P. Palke, Robert, Wareham
 Parker, John, Devonfhire
 Phipps, John, Lincoln
 Pitt, Thomas, Oakhampton
 Plumer, William, Hertfordfhire
 Price, Chafe, Radnorfhire
 Pryfe, J. Pugh, Merionethfhire
 Penhaat Richard, Liverpool R.

Rafhleigh, Philip, Fowey
 Rushout, John, Evesham
 Rolle, Denys, Barnftaple
 Radcliffe, John, St. Albans

Saville,

S.

Saville, Sir George, Yorkshire
 Saunders, Sir Charles, Heydon
 Sawbridge, John, Hythe
 Scrope, Thomas, Lincoln
 St. Leger, Anthony, Grimsby
 St. Aubyn, Sir John, Cornwall
 Smith, John, Bath
 Sharp, William, Callington
 Salt, Samuel, Liskeard
 Sullivan, Lawrence, Ashburton
 Sackville, Lord George, East
 Grinstead
 Seymour, Henry, Huntingdon
 Strachey, Henry, Pontefract
 Stepney, John, Monmouth
 Seawen, James, St. Michael
 Scudamore, John, Hereford
 Sutton, James, Devizes

T.

Turner, Charles, York
 Townshend, James, Westlööe
 Townshend, Thomas, Cambridge University
 Townshend, Thomas, Whitechurch
 Trecothick, Barlow, London
 Thompson, Beilby, Heydon
 V.
 Verney, Earl, Buckinghamshire
 Vincent, Sir Francis, Surry
 W.
 Weddell, William, Kingston
 Wenman, Lord, Oxfordshire
 Whateley, Thomas, Castlerising
 Whichcote, Thomas, Lincolnshire
 Whitworth, Richard, Stafford
 West, James, Boroughbridge

*Two Hundred and Twenty-One Favourite Toasts at ———
 House, at Bloomsbury Square, and at Edinburgh.*

A.

A D A M, Robert, Kinrosshire
 Aislabie, William, Ripon, Auditor of the Imprest, and
 Register of Consistory Court of York
 Allanson, Charles, Ripon, Son-in-law to the other Member
 Ancotts, Charles, Boston
 Amherst, William, Launceston, Colonel in the Army, and Aid
 de Camp to the King
 Anstruther, Sir John, Anstruther, &c. in Scotland
 Ashburnham, William, Hastings, Deputy Keeper of the Great
 Wardrobe

B.

Bacon, Edward, Norwich, Chairman of Elections
 Bacon, Anthony, Aylesbury, Contractor for Stores, and for African and West Indian Affairs
 Baldwyn, Charles, Shropshire
 Barrington, Lord, Plymouth, Secretary at War
 Bateman, Lord, Leominster, Master of the Buck-hounds
 Bayntun, Sir Edward, Chippenham, Surveyor to the Dutchy of Cornwall
 Beauchamp Viscount, Orford, Son of Earl of Hertford, Chamberlain to the King
 Bagot, Sir William, Staffordshire, his Brother a Commissioner of Excise
 Belafise, Lord, Peterborough, Son of the Earl of Fauconberg
 Blackett, Sir Edward, Northumberland

Blackstone, William, Westbury, Solicitor to the Queen
 Boscawen, George, Truro, Colonel of 23d Regiment, Governor
 of Scilly, &c.
 Boscawen, Edward Hugh, Truro, Nephew to Lord Falmouth
 Boscawen, George, junior, St. Mawes, Nephew to Lord Fal-
 mouth
 Bouverie, Edward, Salisbury, Brother to the Earl of Radnor
 Bradshaw, Thomas, Saltash, Secretary to the Treasury
 Brudenell, James, Marlborough, Master of the Robes to the
 King
 Bull, Richard, Newport
 Buller, John, Eastloe, Lord of the Admiralty, and Comptroller of
 the Mint
 Burrard, Henry, Lyminster, Ranger of New Forest, and Gover-
 nor of Calshot Castle
 Burrell, Peter, Totness
 Burrell, William, Haslemere, Chancellor of Worcester
 Burghursh, Lord, Lyme, Brother to a Commissioner of the Salt
 Duties, and to the Customer of Bristol
 Burgoyne, John, Preston, Colonel of the 2d Regiment of Dra-
 goons

C.

Cadogan, Charles Sloane, Cambridge, Surveyor of the King's
 Gardens and Waters
 Campbell, Lord Frederick, Rutherglen in Scotland, Lord Register
 of Scotland
 Campbell, Robert, Argyleshire, Lieutenant-colonel in the army
 Clanbrassil, Earl, Helston, Chief Remembrancer of the Exchequer
 in Ireland
 Clare, Lord, Bristol, First Lord of Trade
 Clayton, William, Marlow
 Coleman, Edward, Orford, a Captain in the Army, Cousin to the
 Earl of Hertford
 Conway, Henry Seymour, Coventry, Son to the Earl of Hert-
 ford, Chamberlain to the King, Constable of Dublin Castle
 for Life
 Cooper, Grey, Grampound, Secretary to the Treasury
 Coiton, Sir Lynch, Denbighshire, Receiver-general of the King's
 Quit-Rent in North Wales.
 Cotton, Sir John, Cambridgehire
 Cowper, William, Hertford
 Craven, Thomas, Berkshire, a Captain in the Navy
 Crauford, John, Old Sarum, of Auchinames in Scotland
 Creswell, Th. Elicourt, Wotton-Basset, Purveyor of Chelsea
 Hospital
 Croftes, Richard, Downton
 Cuff, Peregrine, Shoreham, Brother to the Speaker, and Contrac-
 tor. *Vide his Affidavit in the North Briton*
 Cuff, Brownlowe, Ilchester, Son to the Speaker

D.

- De Grey, William, Newport, Attorney-General
 Darling, Sir Robert, Wendover
 Delaval, Sir John, Berwick, Brother to Sir Francis Blake Delaval
 Dickenfon, William, Marlow
 Dickson, James, Peebles, &c.
 Dolben, Sir William, Northamptonshire, has a Son in the Army
 Douglas, William, Annan in Scotland
 Douglas, Arch. Dumfriesshire, Colonel of the 13th Regiment of Dragoons, &c.
 Douglas, J. St. Leger, Hindon
 Drake, William, Agmondesham
 Drake, William, junior, Agmondesham, Son of the other Member
 Drummond, Adam, St. Ives, Brother-in-Law to the Duke of Bolton, and Contractor for the Troops in America
 Drummond, John, Thetford, Gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber
 Dundas, Sir Laurence, Edinburgh, late Commissary General in Germany, &c. &c.
 Dundas, Thomas, Orkney and Shetland, Brother to Sir Laurence
 Dundas, Thomas, junior, Stirlingshire, Son to Sir Laurence
 Durand, John, Aylebury, Contractor for Masts
 Durant, George, Evelham, Paymaster of the Forces at Havannah,
 Dyson, Jeremiah, Weymouth, Lord of the Treasury

E.

- Edmonstone, Arch. Dunbartonshire, in Scotland
 Egerton, William, Brackley, Captain of the Horse Guards, Gentleman Usher to the Princess Dowager, and Yeoman of the Jewel Office
 Elliot, Sir Gilbert, Roxburghshire, Treasurer of the Chamber, and Keeper of the Signet, &c.
 Ellis, Welbore, Petersfield, late Secretary at War
 Evelyn, William, Helston, Colonel in the Army
 Ewer, William, Dorchester, Treasurer of the Levant Company

F.

- Fane, Henry, Lime, Brother to Lord Westmoreland, has a Nephew in the Salt Office and Custom-House at Bristol
 Fellows, William, Ludlow
 Fife, Earl of, Bamffshire
 Filmer, Sir John, Steyning
 Fitzroy, Charles, St. Edmund's Bury, Vice Chamberlain to the Queen, and Brother to the Duke of Grafton
 Fonnereau, Z. Ph. Aldborough, Son in the Exchequer, Contractor for Provisions for Minorca and Gibraltar
 Forester, Alexander, Newcastle Under-Line, Barrister at Law

Fox,

Fox, Stephen, Salisbury, Son to Lord Holland
Frederick, Sir Charles, Queenborough, Surveyor of the Ordnance
Freeman, Thomas Edwards, Steyning
Fuller, Rose, Rye

G.

Garden, Alexander, Aberdeenshire, in Scotland
Garlies, Lord, Ludgershall, Son of a Commissioner of Police in Scotland
Gilbert, Thomas, Litchfield, Comptroller of the Wardrobe
Gilmour, Sir Alexander, Edinburghshire, Clerk of the Board of Green Cloth
Glynn, Sir Richard, Coventry
Glynne, Sir John, Flint
Gordon, William, Woodstock, Lieutenant Colonel in the Army
Grosne, David, Perthshire, Secretary to the Queen, and Colonel of the 49th Regiment, &c. &c.
Grauby, Marquis, Cambridgeshire, Commander in Chief, Colonel of the Blues, and Master of the Ordnance
Grant, Francis, Elginshire in Scotland, a Colonel in the Army
Greville, Lord, Warwick, Son of the Earl of Warwick
Grey, John, Tregony, Clerk of the Board of Green Cloth

H.

Hamilton, Lord Archibald, Lancashire
Hammer, Walden, Sudbury
Harcourt, William, Oxford, Lieutenant Colonel of the 4th Regiment of Dragoons, Son of Earl Harcourt
Harley, Thomas, London, Contractor for cloathing the Army and Invalids, great grand Nephew of the notorious Earl of Oxford
Harley, Robert, Droitwich, his uncle
Harvey, Edward, Harwich, Adjutant General, and Colonel of the 3d Regiment of Horse
Hawke, Sir Edward, Portsmouth, First Lord of Admiralty
Hawke, Martin Bladen, Saltash, Son to Sir Edward
Henley, Lord, Hampshire, Teller of the Exchequer
Hepburn, Robert Rickart, Kincardinshire in Scotland
Herbert, Nicholas, Wilton, Secretary of Jamaica
Hinchingbroke, Lord, Huntingdonshire, Son of the Earl of Sandwich
Holborne, Francis, Plymouth, Admiral of the Blues
Howard, George, Stamford, Governor of Chelsea Hospital, and Colonel of the 7th Regiment of Dragoons
Howe, Lord, Dartmouth, Treasurer of the Navy
Howe, William, Nottingham, Colonel of the 46th Regiment, Lieutenant Governor of the Isle of Wight
Hussey, Richard, Baffloe, Attorney-General to the Queen
Jackson,

I.

Jackson, Richard, Romney, Counsel to S. S. Company
Jenkinson, John, Corfe-castle, Gentleman Usher to the Queen
Jennyns, Soame, Cambridge, a Lord of Trade
Jennings, George, St. Germain's
Johnstone, George, Cockermouth, late Governor of Florida
Jones, Robert, Huntingdon, Contractor for Remittances to Minorca
Irraham, Lord, Weobly, Father to the Member for Boffinney, one Son in the Navy, and another in the Army

K.

Kennedy, David, Ayrshire in Scotland
Kynafton, Edward, Montgomeryshire, Brother of the famous Corbet Kynafton

L.

Lamb, Sir Peniston, Son of the late Sir Matthew Lamb
Legh, Peter, Ilchester, was a Commissary, and now a Contractor
Linwood, Nicholas, Aldborough, Contractor for Remittances to Gibraltar
Lisburne, Lord, Cardiganshire, a Lord of Trade
Luttrell, Henry Laws, Boffinney, a Colonel in the Army, Son of Lord Irraham, and now a Candidate for Middlesex
Lynch, William, Canterbury, Minister to the Court of Turin
Lyon, Thomas, Aberdeen, Brother to the Earl of Strathmore

M.

Macartney, Sir George, Cockermouth, Son-in-Law to the Earl of Bute, and Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland
Mackenzie, James Stuart, Roxburghshire, Brother to the Earl of Bute, and Lord Privy Seal of Scotland
Maddowall, William, Renfrewshire in Scotland
Manners, Lord Robert, Kingston, Colonel of the 3d Regiment of Dragoon Guards, and Lieutenant Governor of Hull
Manners, John, Newark, Housekeeper at Whitehall
Maaners, George, Scarborough, related to Lord Granby, and a Captain in the Army
Mafferton, James, Dumferline in Scotland, Secretary to Sir Lawrence Dundas
Methuen, Paul, Warwick
Molyneux, T. More, Haslemere, a Captain in the 3d Regiment of Guards
Montgomery, James, Peebleshire, Lord Advocate of Scotland
Morton, John, Abingdon, Chief Justice of Chester
Moßya, Sir Roger, Flintshire
Mountfuart, Lord, Boffinney, Son to the Earl of Bute

N.

Nares, George, Oxford, King's Serjeant
North, Lord, Banbury, Chancellor of the Exchequer

Norton,

Norton, Sir Fletcher, Guildford, Chief Justice in Eyre for Life,
3000l. per Annum

Norton, William, Richmond, Son of Sir Fletcher

Neville, Richard Neville, Tavistock

Newdigate, Sir Roger, Oxford University

O.

Onslow, George, Surry, Lord of the Treasury

Onslow, George, Guildford, Out-Ranger of Windsor Forest, Sa-
lary 700l. per ann. formerly only 300l.

P.

Palmerston, Lord; Southampton, Lord of the Admiralty

Parker, G. Lane, Yarmouth, Col. in the Guards

Panmure, Earl of, Forfarshire, Colonel of the 21st Regiment of
Foot

Payne, Ralph, Shaftsbury

Pigot, Lord, Bridgenorth, has Brothers in the Army

Pigot, Hugh, Penryn, Capt. in the Navy

Pigot, Robert, Wallingford, Col. in the Army, and Governor of
Pendennis Castle

Pitt, George, Dorsetshire, Groom of King's Bedchamber

Pringle, James, Berwickshire, Col. in the Army, and Master of
the Works in Scotland

Pringle, John, Selkirkshire in Scotland, Consul of Madeira

Phillips, Sir Richard, Pembrokeshire

Phillips, Griffith, Caermarthen

Pulteney, William, Cromartieshire

R.

Rebow, J. M. Colchester, at that Time a Petition against him

Reynolds, Francis, Lancaster, Provost Marshal of Barbadoes

Rice, George, Caermarthen, Son-in-Law to Earl Talbot, and
Lord of Trade

Rigby, Richard, Tavistock, Paymaster of the Forces, and Master
of the Rolls in Ireland

Robinson, Thomas, Christchurch, a Lord of Trade

Robinson, John, Westmorland, Steward to Sir James Lowther,
Son-in-Law to Lord Bute

Rofs, John, Lanerkshire, Capt. in the Navy

S.

Sandys, Edwin, Westminster, Son of Lord Sandys

St. John, Henry, Wotton Bassett, Col. of 67th Reg.

Scudamore, Ch. Fitz. Heytesbury, Deputy Cofferer of the House-
hold, and Curfitor of the Chancery in Ireland

Selwyn, George, Gloucester, Surveyor of the Mint, Paymaster
of the Board of Works, and Register of the Chancery in
Barbadoes

Shelly, John, Newark, Treasurer of the Household, Keeper of
the Records in the Tower, and Clerk of the Pipe in the
Exchequer

Sloane, Hans, Newport

Southwell,

Southwell, Edward, Gloucestershire

Spencer, Lord Charles, Oxfordshire, Lord of the Admiralty

Seabright, Sir John, Bath, Major Gen. Col. 18th Regiment of Foot

Stanley, Hans, Southampton, Cofferer of the Household

Stanton, Thomas, Ipswich, has a Son in the Army

Stephens, Philip, Sandwich, Secretary to the Admiralty

Stephenson, John, St. Michael,

Strange, Lord, Lancashire, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster

Stuart, James, Irwin, and 2d Son of the Earl of Bute

Stewart, Keith, Wigtonshire, a Capt. in the Navy

Stuart, Sir Simeon, Hampshire, Chamberlain of the Exchequer

Suttie, Sir George, Haddingtonshire in Scotland

T.

Taylor, Robert Paris, Berwick, Son of Peter Taylor, late Paymaster to the Army in Germany

Thynne, Henry Frederick, Weobly, Master of the King's Household, and Brother to Lord Weymouth

Thomond, Lord, Winchelsea, Brother to the late Lord Egremont, and Lord Lieutenant of the County of Somerset

Thrale, Henry, Southwark

Thurlow, Edward, Tamworth, King's Counsel

Tucker, John, Weymouth, Paymaster of Marines

Tudway, Clement, Wells, had a Petition against him by Peter Taylor

Tynte, Sir Charles, Somersetshire

V.

Vane, Frederick, Durham, Brother to the Earl of Darlington, Master of the Jewel Office, and Deputy Treasurer of Chelsea Hospital

Vanfittart, Arthur, Berks, Brother to Miss Vanfittart, Maid of Honour to the Princess Dowager of Wales

Vanfittart, Henry, Reading, Brother to the other

Vernon, Richard, Bedford, Clerk of the Board of Green Cloth

Villiers, Lord, Dover, Vice Chamberlain to the King

Upper Ossory, Earl, Bedfordshire, Nephew to the Duke of Bedford

W.

Waller, Robert, Wycomb, Brother to Edmund Waller, Master of St. Catharines

Waltham, Lord, Weymouth

Ward, John, Worcesterhire, Son of Viscount Dudley and Ward

Warren, Sir George, Lancaster,

Webbe, Nathaniel, Taunton

Wedderburn, Alexander, Richmond, Scot, King's Counsel

Whitshed, James, Cirencester

Whitworth, Sir Charles, Minehead, Chairman of Ways and Means

Winnington, Sir Edward, Bewdley, succeeded by Petition against the Son of Lord Lyttelton, who espoused the Cause of Liberty

Wood, Robert, Brackley, under Secretary of State, Master of the Revels in Ireland, and

Woollaston, William, Ipswich, has a Brother in the Army, one in the Navy, and one in the Church.

Wrottesley, John, Staffordshire, a Capt. in the Army, Nephew to Lord Gower

Wildbore, Matthew, Peterborough

Wynn, Thomas, Carnarvonshire, Auditor of the Land Revenue of South Wales

Wynn, Glyn, Carnarvon, Colonel in the Army, Brother to the Auditor of the Land Revenue of South Wales

Worsley, Thomas, Callington, Surveyor of the Board of Works

Whitebread, Samuel, Bedford

Wemys, James, Sutherlandshire in Scotland, an Officer in the Navy

TO the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

I Have lately fancied myself thrown back upon the concluding scene of the reign of queen Anne, for I remember well the angry heaven that blackened over the heads of all genuine Britons! I yet feel the reviving impression of that blessed morning which proclaimed our deliverance by the dying breath of blinded majesty. * What a change of air and spirits did I then see in almost every face! far different from the heavy gloom of the preceeding day; gladness now cheered the hearts of all Britannia's friends, while sad dismay and wild confusion seized on the sons of Rome and tyranny.

The aim of ministerial power was to enslave; and every measure had been taken towards the close of that reign to subvert the freedom of the constitution. The *church's danger* was bellowed throughout the land; and liberty's firm advocates were branded with a *schism bill*. Methinks I see the religio-political farce that was acted above half a century past, revived in a late address. † Therein truly, the very clergy thus express themselves.

“ A

* August 1st. 1714.

† The address of the archbishop, bishops, and clergy of the province of Canterbury.

“ A spirit of licentiousness prevails both in the writings and the practice of the times, equally dangerous to the best constituted civil government; and to the purest mode of religious worship.”—Nothing surely can be more just, witness, the many popish and Jacobite publications which revile the principles of the *revolution*, reproach those of the *reformation*, impudently defend the most despotic measures, and openly dare to abet the execrable cause of *POPERY*: it is not necessary that I should cite the several productions of this nature, indeed they are too numerous, so that were you to ask me by what name I would call them, it should be that of *LEGION*, for they are many. The case was exactly similar at the last period of the female reign just mentioned, and the resemblance holds good with respect to the spirit of licentiousness of the present times so loudly complained of, as may be easily perceived from the *unchastised* treatment, if I may be allowed the expression, of our colonies that are protestant, and from the civil establishment given to those that are popish: from the military operations in St. George’s fields; from the Brentford assassins; and from the bruiers at the King’s arms tavern, these events but too plainly demonstrate that the spirit of licentiousness dwells with the administration, not with the assertors and supporters of the rights of the people.

But there are other remarkable passages in the late clerical address which admit not of so easy an interpretation, on which you will permit me to make some few animadversions, as when they say “ we are most immediately engaged, to impress in the strongest manner upon the minds of the people,—fidelity to, and zeal for the established religion of our country, with moderation and christian charity towards those who have the *misfortune* to differ from us.” The word *misfortune* I am apt to think of difficult interpretation, in this address, because it conveys the idea of calamity, deplorable misery, or ill-luck. The word, consequently is ill-chosen, and worse applied, and will have a tendency to misrepresent to the ear of majesty, conscientious protestant dissenters: which must be an injurious, abusive usage of a great body of people, who have ever been the most steady friends of the house of Hanover; and who can have no other motive for their non-conformity than that of approving themselves to the *one Lord* of the church of God, who has expressly forbidden them to acknowledge any human authority over their faith and worship. † Can it then be called a

F f 2

misfortune

† Math. x ch. x. v. 25, 26. chap. 23. v. 8, 9, 10.

misfortune for a people to assert the rights of conscience, and to refuse to suffer any one to exercise dominion over their faith? Can it be a *misfortune* for Christians to stand fast in that liberty wherewith Christ has made them free? I presume the reverend clergy who presented the address will not affirm this; and if they are not able to defend the representation given of protestant dissenters, they must confess themselves unjustifiable in this part of their address, besides this expression is extremely common in the mouths of all the Romish clergy from the cardinal to the capuchin friar, when speaking of the different sects of christians, who are not within the pale of the popish church,—“their *misfortune*, say they, on every occasion, in their writings and in their sermons, is to be lamented; unfortunate heretics, what will become of them.”

The reverend clergy have added a promise, “that they will admonish them to be attentive to the sacred principles of religion; and to use their utmost endeavours to make their lives conformable to its holy doctrines.” I cannot see how the established clergy could look upon themselves as immediately obliged to perform this service to a people who are supposed to have the misfortune to differ from them. I am at a loss to know how they will admonish the protestant dissenter. But one single instance of any thing like it has ever come within my observation, I mean of any attempt thus to admonish: and that was by Dr. Cobden, who sent a circular letter to all his dissenting parishioners in the parishes of *St. Austin* and *St. Faith*, attended with a printed copy of Rogers’s persuasive to uniformity.—The effect of which admonition and exhortation did not prove a matter of boasting to this zealous divine, for upon the receipt of a printed letter from a protestant dissenting parishioner, the Doctor never made a second attempt, and the then bishop of Oxford, Dr. Secker, said of that letter, *that Dr. Cobden fought for it, and he had it.*

The last thing I shall take notice of in this very singular address, is the supplicatory stile, in which genuine Britons, I apprehend, cannot join the clergy; namely, when they say,—“May the same providence, under whose divine protection you carried on and concluded the most successful war that is recorded in the annals of our history, enable you to preserve to your people for a course of many years the blessings of peace.”

The objection to this form of supplication will naturally open upon us in the following manner.—The same providence under whose divine protection the most successful war was

was carried on that ever graced the annals of Britain, cannot with any propriety be considered as countenancing such a conclusion of it, as manifestly spurned at the success, and threw away all the advantages which the war, through the wonderful interposition of that divine providence had given us over the enemy.—This part of the prayer, surely, should have been omitted, because it suggests some dishonourable idea of providence, as if it had bestowed the most amazing advantages to a nation, in order to render that nation wanton enough to trample them under her feet! and had even equally patronized the war and the peace.—Neither does the Paris-treaty appear to be in any wise so concerted as to promise Britain a course of many years tranquility.—No rational man or sound politician can possibly form the least probable expectations of it. If therefore the reverend clergy see it in the light their supplication places it, they are certainly more sanguine in their hopes of its duration, than the generality of the people.

The great similitude between the peace of *Utrecht* and that of *Paris*, in the like condition of a conquered enemy, and in the subversive arts of the m——y, under the one P—— and the other, will account for the exciting motives to these animadversions, which are sent you by,

AN OLD-FASHIONED HANOVERIAN.

OUR correspondent, to whom we acknowledge ourselves indebted for the above remarks on the address of the clergy, is not the only writer who has censured that very singular performance, which seems calculated to kindle religious feuds and animosities among his majesty's protestant subjects, who now live in christian peace and brotherly love to each other, though professing various opinions in religious matters. It is with concern, that the editor of this work has observed a most inflammatory piece in one of the newspapers, signed *Clericus*, full of fiery zeal, suited to the days, when lordly priestcraft controuled the consciences of men in this island, but by no means to the present times, in which enlarged toleration is so strongly pleaded for, that even the very Romish superstition, the principles of which are subversive of the rights of free states, finds shelter under its banners. The attack of *Clericus* on the protestant dissenters, is evidently meant to support the address of the clergy, and to propagate more amply the haughty contempt of the dissenters, implicitly expressed therein: this anonymous divine sounds the alarm to the friends of church and state,

state, nay, summons them to a religious war, "it is high time to rouse to the charge, and stand upon the defensive." —The dissenters, in general, espouse the man who has "flown in the face of government," before we proceed any further, it is necessary to observe, that the unparalleled effrontery of this writer merits the severest chastisement,—he is called upon thus publicly to declare on what evidences, on what facts he grounds this unwarrantable assertion; if he cannot produce any, let him be branded, even on his sacerdotal habit, with the mark of a defamatory libeller, and be it remembered that he is the promoter of licentiousness, sedition, and every evil work, not those he falsely accuses; and that such monsters as him and his associates "should be crushed in the shell," in order to prevent the public calamities which flow from religious quarrels, and to enable us to preserve that harmony and union amongst fellow protestants, which alone can serve as a firm barrier against the inroads of popery. The address of the clergy would perhaps have passed as it deserved, wholly unnoticed, if the attack had not been renewed so violently and illiberally by *Clericus*, whose brethren probably will not thank him for having rendered their lordly, aspiring disposition still more conspicuous, much less for furnishing a fresh occasion for examining with more attention, an address which will not bear it.

A very formidable adversary, asks to what purpose are the promises made by the clergy of exerting themselves as far as they are able, if they are not able to do any thing? And yet such appears to be the case, and a strange one it must be allowed to be.

"It seems, says he, there are at this day in England two archbishops, and twenty-one bishops; in Wales four bishops; in Ireland no less than four archbishops and eighteen bishops. In all, six archbishops, and forty-three bishops.—That is forty-nine archbishops and bishops.

"Is it not strange, that all this whole army of primates, archbishops, and bishops, so amply endowed, as they are, and enjoying so advantageous a settlement, under the smiles of majesty itself, at the very foot of the throne (by whom they are so graciously indulged and clothed with all their spiritual and civil authority.) Is it not strange, I say, that this great number of the most reverend and right reverend prelates, with all these many and great advantages about them, should be found capable of doing *nothing at all* for the farther promotion of primitive christianity, and the interests of literature, knowledge, and religion, natural and revealed, speculative and practical?

"Is

“ Is it not strange, that all the combined powers of episcopacy, thus united, and concentrating, as it were, in one common focal point, can do *nothing at all*, for the farther carrying on of the interests of christianity, which are daily declining among us by the increase of deism and popery, not to mention immorality and prophaneness ?

“ And yet the above expression of the incapacity of the bishops, in the service of vital religion, and primitive christianity, however it may sound, in the narrow ears of a set of unthinking, bigotted, or interested, men, is the language which has been held, more or less, by all the conscientious archbishops and bishops of all national churches, since the taking place of the union of state and church, from Constantine down to this very day.

“ This was the very language, the late archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Thomas Secker, held [constantly held] on all occasions, when he was urged, at any time, as he sometimes was (by his *quondam* colleague, the reverend Dr. Samuel Chandler, in particular) to exert himself in the interests of vital and practical religion, in opposition to a mere lifeless formulary, and rubrical piety : and, particularly, in carrying on the interests of the reformation from popery still farther.—*He could, he said, do nothing !*—And nobody, who knows any thing of the present state of affairs, in the national-christian world, is to seek for the reason of this incapacity. When he considers the strict alliance found subsisting, at present, between the national state and our national church : of which some men are, nevertheless, found so ignorantly, or so treacherously, *boasting* themselves. For when men who have no religion themselves, (and such, to say no worse of them, are most of the civil governors of this world) come to have the direction of church affairs, and the settlement of the doctrines, constitution, worship, and discipline, of the christian church, it is very easy to see, what sort of a religion, and what sort of churches they will set up in the world. *Their* kingdom is of *this* world, and *such*, consequently will be *their* religion, and *their* churches. Nor will they employ, either in state or church, any ministers, civil or ecclesiastical, but what are, in some competent measure, of their own complexion, since as one of our English kings declared : While he made *judges* and *bishops*, he would have what *law*, and what *religion*, he pleased. A declaration, which (though not so explicitly and so publicly made, indeed, by any other of our kings, in words) we see, however, but too fully exemplified, every day,

“ day, in the spirit of it, both in the state, and in the church.

“ In a word, bishops and archbishops are to be considered as no other, than so many ecclesiastical, or spiritual *placemen*, equally useless and burthensome with their civil colleges, in the other departments of government. Would it not be proper, therefore, in a reduction of superfluous placemen, and pensioners, to put the ecclesiastical and civil list upon the same footing?”

‡ We would advise Clericus and his adherents not to blow the fire of religious discord, lest the right reverends and reverends of the established church should be called upon to give proofs of their exercising that christian charity and moderation they boast of, and it should be discovered that upon every occasion where they can do it with impunity, they insult and revile their protestant brethren, dissenting from them, of which the letter of Clericus is a flagrant instance.

* * * *The Letter signed A Citizen of Norwich is received, but cannot possibly be inserted without proper indemnification to the publisher against any complaint that may be made in a certain place of the charge of bribery mentioned in that letter. The fact, as to the delivery of tickets intitling the bearer to two, three, and five guineas on an important occasion, must be better ascertained than by an anonymous pen. The vouchers in such cases ought to be truly authentic, the reputation of the party accused, and of the publisher being at stake.*

One observation of our correspondent ought not to be omitted;—“ That the sentiments contained in the famous Norwich Instructions are the known and declared sentiments of eleven hundred and thirty-six free and independant electors of the city and county of Norwich; and of above a thousand of the inhabitants, equally represented in parliament though they are not free of the corporation.”

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

Observations on the Freedom of Elections, on impartial Proceedings in Parliament, and on a late Extension of Royal Clemency to a capital Convict.

FOREIGNERS in all their writings and observation upon England, on the wisdom of its form of government

government, the limited prerogative of the crown, and the just liberties of the people, have always attributed these blessings to the constitution of our parliaments; and it is certainly this our privilege of representation, which is not only the origin, but the security of all the rest. How careful then ought we to be in the preservation of a blessing which is the envy and admiration of neighbouring states! How forcible is the example of our ancestors, to animate us to imitate them, who, at a vast expence of blood and treasure, transmitted this right inviolate to us, and which we are bound in duty to convey to our posterity, as entire as we received it! They thought its preservation absolutely necessary for the security of their lives, liberties, and property. Full of this spirit and those sentiments, did they nobly exert themselves in asserting the right of the freedom of representation, and, as it was ever deemed an essential part of our constitution, so our old laws made ample provision for the security of this freedom. The statute of Westminster, anno 1274, ordains, *that elections should be freely and duly made without any disturbance whatsoever.* The king is said to command this, and further, under very severe penalties;—"That no great man, nor other, by force of arms, nor by malice or menacing shall disturb any to make free election." So ancient is this grand protection given to the freeholders in choosing their representatives: since which it has been confirmed by the first act under the glorious revolution, and it is therein further declared, "that a violation of this freedom of election of members to serve in parliament is an attempt to subvert and extirpate the religion, laws, and liberties of the kingdom." I would be glad to know if any crime can be of a much deeper dye, than a most daring and violent interruption of this right, a seizure of the poll-books, beating, maiming, and dispersing the free electors, and absolutely stopping all the proceedings of the election? As this has lately happened, we have a right to declare from the tenor of the words of this act of the first of William and Mary,—that whoever shall appear to have had a hand in it, ought to be deemed an enemy to his country, and consequently every man who retains any spark of the old English spirit will treat him as such. According to Mr. Locke, to destroy the freedom of elections is to cut up government by the roots, and is as perfect a declaration of a design to subvert the constitution, as is possibly to be met with. Indeed it has generally been received as a maxim, that whenever princes have set up for arbitrary power, and entered into measures subversive

of the constitution, they have endeavoured to pave their way by the invasion of this right, and it has therefore been deemed incumbent on the people to be very active in their opposition to all attempts of this kind.

But on what account are the people to be so sanguine in the preserving of this privilege inviolate? Because their representatives so freely chosen by them, are deemed the guardians of their liberties and privileges against all invasions from every quarter; a check to insolent, licentious ministers; a terror to ambitious statesmen; a defence against corruption in high offices; and against the violent temper of a prince aiming at arbitrary power: they are the people's trustees for the disposal of their money, for examining into the public accounts, and for maintaining the true interest of the kingdom. So long as they duly discharge these trusts, it is impracticable for any prince or ministry to overturn our constitution, or break through it in any material instances.

But if, instead of providing for the real necessities and true interest of the nation, they permit the great officers of the crown to embezzle or wantonly squander the treasures of the state without calling them to account;—if, instead of mediating between the prerogative of the king and the liberties of the people, they should entirely attach themselves to the one, and neglect the other; if, under a specious appearance of affection for the sovereign, they should sink into so slavish a compliance, as to strike in with his views of arbitrary power, and support him in the necessary steps to obtain it; if they should prove such *bumble creatures* of a ministry, as, seeing them engaged in illegal, corrupt, and ruinous courses, they should either justify their conduct, or decline to examine into and punish it as it deserves.—If they should thus violate that constitution they ought to preserve, suspend those liberties of the people they ought to guard, justify that corruption they ought to reform, and patronize those *guilty grandees* who ought to be crushed beneath the weight of their severest censures.—If this should ever be the case with respect to British parliaments, we may then justly fear the approaching dissolution of this great empire.

We are happy, in the belief, that this is not our present situation; nor can it ever be our case, if we take care to preserve inviolate, in opposition to every ministerial art, the entire freedom of our elections, by which we have the only collateral security that can be given for the integrity and incorruptibility of our representatives.—We must not therefore tamely submit to an invasion of this right in any one instance
whatever,

whatever, for if it is given up in one, it is in fact surrendered in all, by establishing an illegal, unconstitutional precedent.

A speech made in the house of lords by the earl of Mulgrave, in the reign of king Charles the second, is so spirited and so applicable in many respects to the subject now before us,—that the following extracts from such parts of it, as are not merely confined to the time and circumstances which gave rise to it, but convey such sentiments as ought to be imprinted in the hearts of all British freeholders to latest posterity, cannot fail of being acceptable to the friends of the constitution, to the generous supporters, at this difficult crisis, of the rights and privileges of the people.

“ I beseech you, my lords, to consider the meaning of that word *representative*. Is it to do any thing contrary to the minds of the people? It would be absurd to suppose it,—and yet how can it be otherwise, if they, after being chosen, change their dependency, and engage themselves in employments plainly inconsistent with that great trust reposed in them? And that I will take the liberty to demonstrate to your lordships they now do ;—at least according to my humble opinion.

“ I will instance first, the least and lowest incapacity they must be under, who so take employments.

“ Your lordships know but too well what a general carelessness appears every day more and more in the public business, if so, how is it likely that men should be as diligent in their duty in parliament, as that business requires ; where employments and a great deal of other business shall take up both their minds and their time.

“ But then in some cases it is worse, as in commands of the army and other employments of that kind, when they must have a divided duty ; for it does admirably become an officer to sit voting away money in the house of commons, while his soldiers are perhaps taking it away at their quarters for want of his presence to restrain them, and of better discipline among them ;—nay perhaps his troops or regiment may be in some action abroad, and he must either have the shame of being absent from them at such a time, or from that house where he is entrusted with our liberties.

“ But, my lords, there is another sort of incapacity worse than this, I mean of parliament-men having such places in the exchequer, as the very profit of them depends on the money given to the king in parliament.—Would any of your lordships send and intrust a man to make a bargain for you,

whose very interest shall be to make you give as much as he possibly can ? It puts me in mind of a farce, where an actor holds a dialogue with himself, speaking first in one tone, and then answering himself in another.

“ Really, my lords, this is no farce ; for it is no laughing matter to undo a nation : but it is altogether as unnatural for a member of parliament to ask first in the king’s name for any sort of supply, give an account from him how much is needful, and then immediately give, by his ready vote, what he had before asked by his master’s order.

“ It is told us, my lords, that it is a disrespect to the king that his servants or officers should be excluded.

“ To this I desire it may be considered, that it is in this case, as when a tenant sends up any body to treat for him.—Would any of your lordships think it a disrespect, nay would the king himself think it any, if the tenant would not wholly refer himself to one of your own servants, or the king’s commissioners in the case of the crown ? And if he chooses rather some *plain honest friend* of his own, to supply his absence here, will any blame such a proceeding, or think it unmanly ?

“ My lords, no man is readier than myself to allow, that we owe the crown all submission, as to the time of calling parliaments *according to law*, and appointing also when they shall sit ;—but, with reverence be it spoken, the king owes the nation entire freedom in choosing their representatives ; and it is no less his duty, than it is his true interest, that such a fair and just proceeding should be used towards us.

“ Consider, my lords, of what mighty consequence it may be, that so many voices should be free, when upon one single one, may depend the whole security or loss of the nation ; by one single vote such things may happen, that I almost tremble to think. My lords, we may think, because this concerns not the house of lords, that we need not be so over careful of the matter : but there are noblemen in France, at least such as were so before they were enslaved, who, *that they might domineer over others, and serve a present turn*, let all things alone so long, till *the people* were quite mastered and *the nobility* too to keep them company. My lords, this country of ours is very apt to be provoked,—we have had a late experience of it : and though no wise man, but would bear a great deal, rather than make a bustle, yet really the people are otherwise, and at any time change a present uneasiness for any other condition, though a worse ;—we have known it so too often, and sometimes repented it too late.

Let

Let them not have this new provocation in being debarred from a security in their representatives, for malicious people will instill into their minds that all those vast sums which have been raised for the public service, are not disposed away in so fair a manner as they ought to be."

We must now be fully convinced of the inestimable value of the privilege of free elections, and therefore we cannot surely hesitate one moment on the part we have to act on all occasions where this right is broke in upon. In cases where the public is so greatly concerned no man should be idle or silent.—In ancient Rome it would have been an honour to be a prosecutor in such a cause,—that great patriot Cato bound himself in an oath, that he would be the accuser of whomsoever he should know to have given money for purchasing suffrages for elections. The mischief is equal, if money be given to men to perpetrate acts of violence in order to secure a majority of suffrages in favour of one candidate, by bruising, maiming, or murdering the friends of the other, and there cannot be a doubt but that it is the duty and the true interest of both k— and people to inflict the severest punishments according to law, on such capital offenders.

What then shall we say to a m——y who could advise such an impolitic step as the granting a certain pardon? Was not the criminal an open rioter? Did not he molest the freedom of an election in a most outrageous manner? Were not his majesty's liege subjects dispersed by the rioters, when assembled on the most important business on which they can possibly meet in this free state? Was there the least plea for this insolent and cruel behaviour? It was not an expelled devoted victim of m——l rage: it was a very respectable, and in all points a completely qualified candidate, against whom this outrage was committed,—and be it remembered that he is strictly bound to his country, in the bond of honour, which ought to be the most sacred tie on earth, especially with a representative of the people—to prosecute with unremitting ardour the vile patrons and abettors of that day's shameful invasion of their rights;—if he holds the esteem of his country dear, he will exert himself with redoubled force to bring to justice the author of that day's mischief, since his agents have been saved from the sentence of the law of the land; and should they all escape, and not one example be made to deter others from such violent infringements of the rights of their country; the county who freely chose him will at least have the consolation to find, after such an exertion, that they
have

have placed their confidence in a man who pays a strict regard to his liberal promises.

No man has a right to call in question the exercise of the royal prerogative, and it has been said that clemency is the brightest jewel in a prince's diadem; but surely we may venture, without giving offence, to point out the striking contrast of two late melancholy events, the violent deaths of Allen and Redburn on the 10th of May, 1768; and of George Clarke, who, as it appeared to an impartial jury, died in consequence of the blow he received at the riot at Brentford on the 8th of December last.

The sole reason alledged, on Gillam's trial for the murder of Redburne, why the soldiers fired upon the people, was, that justice Gillam had a stone flung at him which struck his forehead and made him stagger, but from which no bad consequence arose; for this offence the soldiers are ordered to fire, and an innocent man is killed whom curiosity had engaged to stop a few minutes on a public highway, because he saw a very great concourse of people assembled, and guards riding up and down amongst them. On the trial of Donald Maclean for the murder of William Allen it appeared, that one of the rioters in St. George's fields stung, grazed and stoned at the justices and the officers, for which high crime the said rioter was pursued by the military, but having found means to escape—another innocent subject is fired at and killed by a soldier, who is permitted to abscond, though he confessed the fact, however he might attribute it to accident; and this notwithstanding repeated applications to the very justice Gillam who had ordered the soldiers to fire, to have him taken in custody. Here was a manifest extension of mercy, or a neglect of duty, in suffering a man to escape who had taken away the life of a valuable citizen.

On the 8th of December, the free election of a knight of the shire for the county of Middlesex was suddenly interrupted by a numerous banditti armed with offensive weapons, who committed the most violent outrages, bruising, beating and maiming several of his majesty's subjects, terrifying others, dispersing the freeholders, insulting the sheriffs, and putting a total stop to the important business of the day—in the course of this really mischievous riot, a blow was given to George Clarke, who from that time languished of the wound till he died. The person who gave the blow is prosecuted for murder, and found guilty by his peers; when the voice of justice demanded that such a criminal should be made an example of, behold an idle question is started long after the trial and condemnation

condemnation of this man, and longer still after the interment of the murdered corpse, concerning the event of the blow, actually given by the convict—a question which ought to have been stifled in the birth, instead of being conveyed to the r—breast, there to occasion doubts, *whether* a lawless rioter, hired to invade one of the most important privileges of the people, who received the wages of iniquity for this purpose, who actually put several of his majesty's subjects in bodily fear, who stooped them on the king's highway, who struck one of them a blow with an unlawful weapon, and wounded him, *as his country have found*, even unto death, should suffer the sentence of the law, or be deemed an object of r—clemency?

But no doubt arose in a certain f— of f—e's breast, nor in that of his wooden deputy—a hardened veteran in every dirty measure—*whether* it might not be proper absolutely to forbid the effusion of blood on the 10th of May, and to order the military to apprehend and secure the offenders, *who were not so mischievously disposed as those at the Brentford election*, instead of directing such an *effectual* use of the troops, as might, and did occasion the death of innocent persons—these were destroyed without trial by judge or jury, or any doubt arising to excite the extension of r—clemency—one black act of m——l cruelty cut short the thread of their days, without a moment's respite. These indeed are merciful times! M.

Papers relative to the Pardon of Edward Mac Quirk.

Whitchall, March 13.

HIS Majesty has been graciously pleased to extend his Royal Mercy to Edward M^c Quirk, found guilty of the Murder of George Clarke, as appears by his Royal Warrant to the Tenor following:

“GEORGE R.

“Whereas a Doubt had arisen in our Royal Breast concerning the Evidence of the Death of George Clarke, from the Representations of William Bromfield, Esq. Surgeon, and Solomon Starling, Apothecary; both of whom, as has been represented to us, attended the Deceased before his Death, and expressed their Opinions that he did not die of the Blow he received at Brentford; and whereas it appears to us, that neither of the said Persons were produced as Witnesses upon the Trial, though the said Solomon Starling had been examined before the Coroner; and the only Person called to prove that the Death of the said George Clarke was occasioned by the said Blow, was John Foot, Surgeon, who never saw the Deceased till after his Death; we thought fit thereupon to refer the said Representations, together with the Report of the Recorder of our City of London of the Evidence given by Richard and

and William Beale, and the said John Foot, on the Trial of Edward Quirk, otherwise called Edward Kirk, otherwise called Edward Mac Quirk, for the Murder of the said Clarke, to the Master, Wardens, and the rest of the Court of Examiners of the Surgeons Company, commanding them likewise to take such further Examination of the said Persons so representing, and of the said John Foot, as they might think necessary, together with the Premises above-mentioned, to form and report to us their Opinion, ' Whether it did or did not appear to them, that the said George Clarke died in Consequence of the Blow he received in the Riot at Brentford, on the 8th of December last.' And the said Court of Examiners of the Surgeons Company having thereupon reported to us their Opinion, ' That it did not appear to them that he did;' We have thought proper to extend our Royal Mercy to him the said Edward Quirk, otherwise called Edw. Kirk, otherwise called Edw. M^c Quirk, and to grant him our Free Pardon for the Murder of the said George Clarke, of which he has been found guilty: Our Will and Pleasure therefore is, that he the said Edward Quirk, otherwise called Edward Kirk, otherwise called Edward M^c Quirk, be inserted, for the said Murder, in our first and next General Pardon that shall come out for the poor Convicts of Newgate, without any Condition whatsoever; and that in the mean Time you take Bail for his Appearance, in order to plead our said Pardon. And for so doing this shall be your Warrant. Given at our Court at St. James's the 10th Day of March 1769, in the Ninth Year of our Reign. By his Majesty's Command,

" ROCHFORD."

" To our trusty and well-beloved James Eyre, Esq. Recorder of our City of London, the Sheriffs of our said City and County of Middlesex, and all others, whom it may concern."

To the Court of Examiners of the Surgeon's Company.

Mr. BENJAMIN COWELL.

WILLIAM BROMFIELD, Esq; Surgeon to her Royal

Highness the Princess Dowager of Wales.

Mr. STAFFORD CRANE.

JOHN RANBY, Esq; Serjeant Surgeon to his Majesty.

CÆSAR HAWKINS, Esq; ditto.

DAVID MIDDLETON, Esq; ditto.

Mr. CHRISTOPHER FULLAGER.

Mr. ROBERT YOUNG.

Mr. PERCIVAL POTT.

Mr. GREGORY.

GENTLEMEN,

DOES not Mr. Foot depose upon oath, in the trial of Balf and M^c Quirk, for the murder of Mr. Clark,--That his *dura mater* was inflamed, blood extravasated between that membrane and the *pia mater*, the *pia mater* not only inflamed, but ruptured also: and that the wound received on his head was the cause of his death?

If he--Has not Mr. Foot been guilty of the grossest ignorance, or the foulest perjury?--But from whence these infamous imputations?--Do they not arise from your joint opinion, that the facts he relates are false, and that Clark's death was not occasioned by the wound received upon his head?

If by the ignorant or perjured deposition of Mr. Foot, two innocent men were found guilty of the murder of Mr. Clark; a court of justice
not

not only troubled with a long and tedious trial, but deceived at the same time by his evidence; what does he merit less than Mr Quirk, whose life has been almost miraculously preserved, by the new and happy medium of the Court of Examiners?

But if, on the other hand, a murderer has escaped justice, is let loose on the public, and the-----clemency abused, in consequence of your opinion that this wound of Clark's was not mortal, or the cause of his death, what do you not deserve?

Let me ask, whether (if there be in nature a possible mortal wound) an extravasation of blood between the *dura* and *pia mater*, and a rupture of the *pia mater* itself, does not come under that denomination? Is not this definition established by writers of the best credit, by constant practice and observation, and by innumerable evidences in judicial anatomy? What is the result, but that this wound of Clark's was absolutely mortal *per se*? Nor does this rest upon a simple affirmation, which might well enough and effectually enough be contradicted with your simple opinions; but is founded on a basis of truth and reality, which the Court of Examiners can neither subvert nor destroy.

It is allowed, that some wounds, mortal in themselves, are sometimes, though but seldom, cured by the art of surgery. It appears from the Gazette, that William Bromfield, Esq; Surgeon to her Royal Highness the Princess Dowager of Wales, attended Clark from the first. Mortal blows, and wounds of the head, do not always speedily discover their fatal effects; they therefore require the utmost attention, as well as the utmost skill, preventive and curative.--Let me ask then, How did Mr. Bromfield attend, and what did he do for this man whilst under his care?--Was he frequently and plentifully bled?--If a strict regard was paid to symptoms (had he no symptoms?) Why was not the trepan applied,--the only means by which a chance of life could be given? But may it not be shrewdly suspected, that Mr. B-----d's many engagements deprived him of that advantage? But suppose an omission in life, why did he not inspect the head of his deceased patient? Did not duty to his God, King, and Country, demand this, that he might have been qualified to give evidence in a matter of such importance as Murder? How then could he pretend, several weeks afterwards, to take the lead, and direct the opinions of the Court of Examiners, in an affair wherein they were still less able to form a true idea than himself? If the Court of Examiners cannot set the part they have acted in a better light than it now appears to the world, will they not expose themselves to the censure of all mankind?

An answer to these queries and allegations are expected, and demanded, by every honest man in the kingdom.

I am, GENTLEMEN,

As far as Truth and Justice shall
appear, more or less, your most
obedient, humble servant,

CHIRURGICUS.

Conduit-Street, March, 18, 1768.

I WAS this day shewn a letter signed Chirurgicus, on which I shall make no farther comments, but to disabuse the public, in respect to one allegation relative to myself. It is said, as a quotation from the Gazette, that "I attended Clark from the first."--Nothing can be falser than this assertion, as I never saw Clark till Tuesday, about noon, the 13th of December, 1768, the sixth day, as I was told, from the blow being given. I then directed such things as I thought proper for
Vol. IV. H h his

his immediate relief, and sent my son in the afternoon to know the effect of the medicines, who told me the clyster *only* had been given. The next morning, Wednesday the 14th, notice was sent me that the man died in the night.

These facts being known, the absurdity of the subsequent queries, contained in the letter, must be too obvious to stand in need of any reply.

I hope, for the future, your correspondents, as well as yourself, will be better informed of facts before you attempt to traduce my character; which, I flatter myself, has hitherto been, and will remain unimpeached, for want of integrity, in my profession.

W. BROMFIELD.

*To his Grace the D——— of *****.*

My Lord,

BEFORE you were placed at the head of affairs, it had been a maxim of the English Government, not unwillingly admitted by the people, that every ungracious or severe exertion of the Prerogative should be placed to the account of the minister; but that whenever an Act of Grace or Benevolence was to be performed, the whole merit of it should be attributed to the sovereign himself. It was a wise doctrine, my Lord, and equally advantageous to the King and to his Subjects; for while it preserved that suspicious attention, with which the people ought always to examine the conduct of Ministers, it tended at the same time rather to increase than to diminish their attachment to the person of their Sovereign. If there be not a fatality attending every measure you are concerned in, by what treachery, or by what excess of folly has it happened, that those ungracious acts, which have distinguished your administration, and which I doubt not were entirely your own, should carry with them a strong appearance of personal interest, and even of personal enmity in a quarter where no such interest or enmity can be supposed to exist, without the highest injustice and the highest dishonour? On the other hand, by what judicious management have you contrived it, that the only act of mercy, to which you ever advised your -----, far from adding to the lustre of a character truly gracious and benevolent, should be received with universal disapprobation and disgust? I shall consider it as a ministerial measure, because it is an odious one, and as your measure, my Lord D---e, because you are the Minister.

As long as the trial of this chairman was depending, it was natural enough that government should give him every possible encouragement and support. The honourable service, for which he was hired, and the spirit with which he performed it, made a common cause between your Grace and him. The minister, who by secret corruption invades the freedom of elections, and the ruffian, who by open violence destroys that freedom, are embarked in the same bottom. They have the same interests, and mutually feel for each other. To do justice to your Grace's humanity, you felt for Mac Quirk as you ought to do, and if you had been contented to assist him indirectly, without a notorious denial of justice, or openly insulting the sense of the nation, you might have satisfied every duty of political friendship, without committing the honour of your ----- or hazarding the reputation of his government. But when this unhappy man had been solemnly tried, convicted and condemned;--when it appeared that he had been frequently employed in the same services, and that no excuse for him could be drawn either from the innocence of his former life, or the simplicity of his character,

was

was it not hazarding too much to interpose the strength of the prerogative between this felon and the justice of his country? You ought to have known that an example of this sort was never so necessary as at present; and certainly you must have known that the lot could not have fallen upon a more guilty object. What system of government is this? You are perpetually complaining of the riotous disposition of the lower class of people, yet when the laws have given you the means of making an example, in every sense unexceptionable, and by far the most likely to awe the multitude, you pardon the offence, and are not ashamed to give the sanction of government to the riots you complain of, and even to future murders. You are partial perhaps to the military mode of execution, and had rather see a score of these wretches butchered by the guards, than one of them suffer death by regular course of law. How does it happen, my Lord, that, in your hands, even the mercy of the Prerogative is cruelty and oppression to the subject?

The measure, it seems, was so extraordinary, that you thought it necessary to give some reasons for it to the public. Let them be fairly examined.

1. You say that Messrs. Bromfield and Starling were not examined at Mac Quirk's trial. I will tell your Grace why they were not. They must have been examined upon oath; and it was foreseen that their evidence would either not benefit, or might be prejudicial to the prisoner. Otherwise is it conceivable that his counsel should neglect to call in such material evidence?

2. You say that Mr. Foot did not see the deceased till after his death. A surgeon, my Lord, must know very little of his profession, if, upon examining a wound or a contusion, he cannot determine whether it was mortal or not. While the party is alive, a surgeon will be cautious of pronouncing; whereas, by the death of the patient, he is enabled to consider both the cause and effect in one view, and to speak with a certainty confirmed by experience.

Yet we are to thank your Grace for the establishment of a new tribunal. Your *Inquisitio post Mortem* is unknown to the laws of England, and does honour to your invention. The only material objection to it is, that if Mr. Foot's evidence was insufficient because he did not examine the wound, till after the death of the party, much less can a negative opinion, given by gentlemen, who never saw the body of Mr. Clarke, either before or after his decease, authorise you to supersede the verdict of a jury, and the sentence of the laws.

Now, my Lord, let me ask you, Has it never occurred to your Grace, while you were withdrawing this desperate wretch from that justice, which the laws had awarded, and which the whole people of England demanded against him, that there is another man, who is the favourite of his country, whose pardon would have been accepted with gratitude, whose pardon would have healed all our divisions? Have you quite forgotten that this man was once your Grace's friend? Or is it to murderers only that you will extend the mercy of the crown?

These are questions you will not answer. Nor is it necessary. The character of your private life, and the uniform tenour of your public conduct, is an answer to them all.

JUNIUS.

††† The impartial conduct we are determined to observe in the Review of political publications, obliges us to defer till next month, all remarks on The appeal to the public touching the death of George Clarke, by Mr. J. Foot, surgeon, in the expectation that a reply will be given, which will enable us to state the whole merits of this important controversy.

PAPERS relative to the Cause of JOHN WILKES, Esq;

Copy of the Writ issued out of Chancery for the Election of a Knight of the Shire for the County of Middlesex, which came on March 16th.

GEORGE the third, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, &c. To our sheriff of the county of Middlesex, greeting:—
WHEREAS John Wilkes, Esq; was lately chosen one of the knights for your county, for our present parliament, summoned to be holden at our city of Westminster the tenth day of May, in the eighth year of our reign, on which day our said parliament was begun and held, and from thence by several adjournments and prorogations unto Tuesday the eighth day of November last past was adjourned and prorogued, and there now holden; and whereas the said *John Wilkes has by the lower house of our said parliament been adjudged incapable of being elected a member to serve in our said parliament*, and the election of the said John Wilkes, for the said county, has been declared void, as by a letter of our right-trusty and well-beloved counsellor, Sir John Cust, Bart. speaker of our said lower house of parliament, more fully and plainly appears, by means whereof our subjects of the said county are deprived of one Knight to treat for the benefit of the same county in our said parliament; nevertheless, we being unwilling that the commonalty of our kingdom in our said parliament assembled to treat of business concerning us, the state and defence of our kingdom and the church, from the aforesaid cause should be diminished or lessened, whereby those affairs may not have a due end. We command you, that in the place of the said John Wilkes, in your full county to be holden next after the receipt of this our writ, one other fit and discreet knight of the aforesaid county girt with a sword (proclamation being first made of the premises and of the day and place) freely and indifferently by those who shall be present at the proclamation, according to the form of the statute in that case made and provided, you cause to be elected, and the name of such knight to be inserted in certain indentures to be thereupon made between you and them who shall be present at such election (whether at the said election he shall be present or absent) and to cause him to come to the said parliament, so that the same knight so to be chosen may have full power and sufficient authority for himself and the commonalty of the aforesaid county, to do and consent to those things which in our parliament aforesaid, by the common council of our realm (by the blessing of God) shall happen to be ordained upon the aforesaid affairs; willing nevertheless that neither you nor any other sheriff of this our kingdom in any wise be elected; and the election in your full county so made, distinctly and openly under your seal, and the seals of them who shall be present at such election, certify you to us in our chancery, forthwith remitting to us one part
of

of the aforesaid indentures annexed to these presents, together with this writ. Witness ourselves at Westminster the 17th day of February, in the ninth year of our reign.

YORKE and YORKE.

Account of the Election.

ON Thursday morning, March 16th. soon after ten, Messrs. Halifax and Shakespeare, the sheriffs, accompanied by their under sheriffs and officers, opened the county court at Brentford, for the election of a knight of the shire for Middlesex. Sir J—C—, Sir J—D—, and ———, with many other hungry birds of prey, hovered over the county, supposing that a third man might be necessary; however, none but Mr. Dingley ventured to make a direct sowsie at it.

After the usual forms, Mr. Wilkes was proposed as a candidate by Mr. Sawbridge, who was seconded by Mr. Townsend. The universal acclamations of the freeholders which ensued, testified as well their sense of the nomination, as of the animated expressions used by the proposers.

The sheriffs then repeatedly demanded if they had any other candidate to offer. After some pause, they directed the officer to proclaim all round the Hustings, without and within, that if any freeholder had a candidate to propose, it was now the time for it. It then appeared, to the satisfaction of every one present, that tho' a person had been found willing to slip into parliament under the present circumstances, yet there was not in the county a freeholder base enough to propose him, or to prefer a private connection to the rights of every freeholder in the kingdom.

Mr. Wilkes was then proposed by the sheriffs, and unanimously elected knight of the shire for Middlesex.

The shouts on this declaration were continued above five minutes, and heard at a very considerable distance.

Mr. Dingley, who had been upon the hustings, withdrew some time before the opening of the court; and after the declaration, a messenger, in a pretended hurry, brought a letter to the sheriffs from Mr. Dingley, protesting against the election; which occasioned no small mirth.

Mr. Townsend cannot be sufficiently praised for recommending so strongly peace and good behaviour. He told them that the whole struggle at present was for the freedom of election: That if Mr. Dingley could get any one to poll for him, they ought carefully to avoid the least insult to him, or to Mr. Dingley: That all personal considerations were now entirely out of the question—they met there to support their own rights, and therefore should be the last to violate them in the persons of others.

The whole concluded with that decency and peace which have always distinguished the firm, manly conduct of the freeholders of Middlesex,

Proceedings.

Proceedings at the Assembly-Room, Mile-End, March 20, 1769.

AT the meeting of the freeholders of the county of Middlesex, this day; there was the greatest appearance, perhaps, that ever has been known on a like occasion.

The chair was filled by Mr. Sawbridge, who having declared the cause of this meeting to be the rejection of Mr. Wilkes, and a new writ ordered for the election of a representative in his stead, for the said county, and to take the opinion of the freeholders, whether they would again support their former choice.

It was unanimously resolved to support their former choice of John Wilkes, Esq; to be a representative in parliament for the county of Middlesex.

Other gentlemen then spoke in their turns, in regard to the propriety and legality of this proceeding. And it was clearly shewn, that there is no law to exclude Mr. Wilkes, nor to punish any person for voting for him, and that as often as Mr. Wilkes shall be chosen, the law will oblige the returning officer to declare him duly elected, in defiance to any art that might be made use of to the contrary.

Some speeches were thrown out about petitioning: but Mr. T——, with a true patriotic spirit, recommended moderation, and expressed his hopes that integrity and firmness on the part of the county, would prove of more real effect towards a happy end to the affair in debate, than any measure that should carry in them the appearance of anger and revenge.

Accordingly it was unanimously agreed, to wait the issue of the next election the 13th. of April.

It was then moved, to thank the sheriffs for their candour and conduct at the last election, which was carried nem. con.

It is impossible to describe the heartiness of the freeholders, who protested that they would go to Brentford, not only every month, but every day, if necessary, rather than desert or betray their rights; and would sooner lay down their freeholds, or their lives, than give up their inherent and unalienable privilege of chusing:

The meeting was adjourned to the monday after the next election; when the freeholders will meet again to determine on the necessary steps to be taken in support of their rights and liberties.

On Tuesday March 21st. there was a numerous and respectable meeting of the supporters of the bill of rights at the London tavern in Bishopsgate-street, when they received the report of the committee appointed to examine into the state of Mr. Wilkes's affairs, and set a-part 1500l. to discharge the demands of the most necessitous of that gentleman's creditors. After dinner 500l. was subscribed towards supporting the cause.

The following is Mr. Wilkes's spirited Address on the Day of Election.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of
MIDDLESEX.

GENTLEMEN,

AFTER the sense of the county had so lately appeared in the clearest manner by my UNANIMOUS re-election, I did not expect that any gentleman could have been found to oppose me, still less in so unfair a way as by a declaration not many hours previous to the poll. The advertisement of Mr. Charles Dingley, in every public paper, is stolen upon us only this morning, although the day of election has been fixed near a month.

This plan of trick of trick and surprize has been however concerting for some weeks, in a clandestine and dark manner, with the enemies of your freedom and independency. The meanness and artifice of this ungenerous attack, is to be ranked among the various ministerial measures employed to set aside the man of your free choice; but YOUR firmness and spirit have rendered vain and fruitless all the contrivances of low cunning, and the efforts of weak malice.—My opponent declares under his hand, that “ he had been solicited by some respectable freeholders of the county of Middlesex to offer himself a candidate to represent them in parliament, on account of the present vacancy,” but, in fact, no freeholder could be prevailed upon even to put him in nomination. The noble stand you have made this day, in a cause which is common to every elector of Great-Britain, will be remembered with gratitude by our latest posterity.

My personal obligations to you, gentlemen, for your generous support on this occasion, I can never forget; but, as an ENGLISHMAN, the greatness of your conduct in so important and trying an instance, affects me still more sensibly; for you have gloriously asserted the clear rights of every freeholder in the island, which a despotic ministry had openly invaded.

The manly spirit you have exerted this day in direct opposition to every art and intrigue of administration, cannot fail of making a strong impression upon a set of men who seek the ruin of public liberty. They have long lost sight of all national good; but they may now possibly refrain from further acts of despotism: And if we enjoy the noble privileges of our country, confirmed by the GREAT CHARTER of the BILL OF RIGHTS, particularly those respecting the freedom of elections, secured to us by the wisdom and valour of our ancestors, we shall owe our happiness to the zeal and vigour with which you, gentlemen, and the other independent electors of this kingdom have supported these original and primary rights of Englishmen.

Whatever be the consequences of this day's proceedings, you have the satisfaction of having borne your testimony to the just claims of every freeholder, and the best rights of our inheritance.

The

The nation will in this age do justice to your merit: but your reward will not have an end with the present times; your names and memories will become dear and venerable to all future ages.

I am Gentlemen,

With most respect and gratitude,

King's Bench Prison,

Your affectionate and faithful

Thursday, March 16.

humble servant,

JOHN WILKES.

Mr. Wilkes having been expelled a third Time, thus addresses the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Middlesex.

GENTLEMEN,

IF I had not experienced your unwearied zeal for liberty and the defence of the fundamental rights of the subject, I should feel some uneasiness in being now obliged by a third expulsion to beg the favour of you to attend so soon again at Brentford to support your former choice. But I know you have the cause of your country at heart, and that you glory in every opportunity of convincing the world that you will never give up your title to a free election. If you tamely suffer this most valuable right of choosing your own representative in parliament to be taken from you, or rendered of no effect, you must not expect that the enjoyment of any meaner, or more inconsiderable, franchise will be long permitted. The spirit of every Englishman revolts at the very idea, and the freeholders of Middlesex have always firmly stood foremost in the day of trial, however severe and perilous.

The next county court is fixed for Thursday the 13th. of April, when the election will come on at Brentford. The appearance of my friends at an early hour of that day I shall esteem as a very particular obligation. I am, Gentlemen,

With deference and respect,

Your faithful and obliged humble servant,

JOHN WILKES.

King's Bench Prison, Saturday, March 18.

Of all the Addresses that have y't appeared from the able Pen of Mr. Wilkes, the following justly claims the Preference.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of MIDDLESEX.

GENTLEMEN,

THE remarkable series of important events, in which you have been of late deeply interested, requires that I should state fully to you the motives of my conduct. No private consideration could induce me thus repeatedly to intreat the freeholders of this respectable county to submit to the inconvenience of so frequent elections. I am actuated by a higher principle, by

by duty to you and to my native country. My sole motive is the hope of establishing by perseverance your title to a free election, which our forefathers transmitted to us as an hereditary claim, and our posterity will demand from us, as the guardians of their birth-right, of their best inheritance. I find that after ministerial power has been without success exerted in every form of corruption, division, and intimidation, to defeat your rights, another plan is at length adopted; and the vain hope of our enemies now is, that you will be tired out by the contest, by the increasing expence to which you are compelled. You will however I am sure continue to prove to the world that you are superior to this mean, wretched artifice, unseduced by corruption, undivided by artifice, and undaunted by every apprehension of future vengeance.

I cannot conceive any thing of greater importance to the preservation of public liberty than the event of the present struggle. The question is, whether the people have an inherent right to be represented in parliament by the man of their free choice, not disqualified by the law of the land? This question is now again agitated in an enlightened age under a prince of the Brunswick line, to whom the exercise of this very right gave the sceptre, in consequence of the glorious revolution. It is a right coeval with our constitution, and stands among the first principles of our form of government, which reserves to the people a third part of the legislative power. It began at the very first faint dawn of liberty in our island, and will survive to the last convulsive pang of expiring freedom. It is a part of the original compact between the sovereign of this nation and the subject, expressly stated in the BILL OF RIGHTS, which declares that in this, as well as in the other instances enumerated, our ancestors, as theirs in like case had usually done, VINDICATED and ASSERTED the true, ANCIENT, and INDUBITABLE rights and liberties of the people of this kingdom, which they CLAIMED, DEMANDED, and INSISTED UPON, and the whole legislature enacted, shall stand, remain, and be the law of this realm FOR EVER. Parliamentary authority obliges every sovereign at the coronation to swear to the observance of that and all the other statutes of this realm; and this excellent act declares, that all officers and ministers whatsoever shall serve their majesties and their SUCCESSORS, according to the same, IN ALL TIMES TO COME. This right of the people is no less clear by reason than by the positive statute. There can be no representation, but when the greater number to be represented have freely chosen a person who is legally qualified. A representation without, or against, the consent of the parties is an insult to common sense, an absurdity scarcely to be paralleled, an injustice and insolence not to be forgiven.

In my case, Gentlemen, the legislative power has in no way interfered. A resolution of only one third part was obtained. The first expulsion was chiefly grounded on the pretence of what I had written relative to the massacre in these fields, which I did from the impression that bloody scene had made upon me. This I declared afterwards at the bar of the House of Commons, in pursuance of your instructions. From thence the first expulsion avowedly took its rise. I made an appeal to my constituents. You approved my conduct, and unanimously re-elected me. I was then expelled a second time, and no reason whatever was assigned. The day after this re-election, the present administration procured a resolution, That I was, and am, incapable of being elected a member to serve in this present parliament, and that a late election of a knight of the shire

for the county of Middlesex, is a void election : But you, Gentlemen, determined for yourselves, and would not surrender your right of choice. By this resolution the administration hath unlawfully deprived you of a right acknowledged to be yours FOR EVER by an act of the whole legislature. To make this case, so subversive of your right, the more flagrant, it is expressly stated, " that there was not any kind of opposition to the election." I still proceeded, Gentlemen, to appeal again to you, and by your favour my third re-election was as unanimous as the former. I was the next day expelled, with a similar declaration, That no other candidate was proposed, and that no elector gave or tendered his vote for any other person. In this last instance both the election and return are declared null and void. This contest is now become of the most interesting nature. It is between the present administration and all the electors of Great Britain. There is nothing personal in it. The cause is national, and of the first magnitude. On this public ground I will stand firm. No danger shall deter me from my duty. And while I continue to be entrusted by you in this important concern, I shall rely on your protection and support. In me you shall find obedience to your instructions, fidelity, and indefatigable zeal for the maintenance of every right of this free and brave nation.

I am, Gentlemen, with affection and regard,
Your obliged and faithful humble servant,

King's Bench Prison,
Thursd. day, March 23.

JOHN WILKES.

The Address of Charles Dingley, Esq;

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Middlesex.

Gentlemen,

I HAD warm hopes that some freeholder of much property and abilities (though with a more willing mind, or a heart better disposed to do service, I believe there is not one) would have offered himself to have represented you in parliament, but as there was no such offer made publicly, and I know several who were applied to, I resolved on Tuesday afternoon to be the humble instrument of restoring, if possible, peace and union to the freeholders of Middlesex. I immediately sent paragraphs, which could only be inserted in two papers, and the next day, being that of the election, I advertised, and made my public offer of service. I proceeded to the poll, attended by my servants, got upon the hustings, and was endeavouring to advance, but was prevented, and I could plainly perceive a fixed intention to crush me, or to do me some personal injury. In this situation, without any person to assist me, one or two of Mr. Wilkes's party who knew me, begged of me to get off, if I valued my life, which, without their advice, I must have been obliged to do. I stayed without the hustings amidst the clamour of numbers, until the sheriffs came, when I humbly requested their protection, as I was a candidate for the day, and had agreed to pay half the expence of the booth. They told me I must do the best that I could, and follow them. Alderman Halifax in particular, was very desirous of protecting me, but the sheriffs, and under sheriffs, hurried on; the same party stopped me from following, and I remained in the same very dangerous situation I was before. I then thought there was no time to be lost; and in order to use the proper means of offering myself formally, I retreated, and wrote a letter

letter to the sheriffs, begging to have safe convoy and security for that purpose. I likewise sent messengers immediately on my retreat, requesting the sheriffs to stop the business, until I could come; and dispatched my letter, I believe within a quarter of an hour, declaring the firmness of my resolution to be a candidate; which letter being produced, I flatter myself, will do me no discredit. My messengers being, it seems, known in the croud, were threatened, and prevented from getting to the sheriffs, before a declaration was made, that Mr. Wilkes was duly elected; all which, I presume, was within half an hour, whilst I had not conceived the least apprehension of so sudden an end of the business. It rests now only to thank those gentlemen, who came with the generous views of doing service to their king and country, and intended to give me their votes, which I understand, though upon so short a notice, were to the number of 4 or 500 at least, and who were at a loss what to do, as I was not put in nomination. I thank them with the warmest gratitude, and every good and loyal subject who wished me success. I declare, with all sincerity, that I have no view whatever, but that of the public good, and an honest ambition to prove myself, Gentlemen,

Your most faithful humble servant,

Golders-Hill, Hendon, March 17.

CHARLES DINGLEY.

Copy of the Letter written by Mr. Dingley, and sent by him to the Sheriffs on the Hustings at Brentford.

To Messrs. Hallifax and Shakespeare, Sheriffs and Aldermen.

Gentlemen,

I have not wanted resolution to undertake a task which I conceived might be of the greatest benefit to my king and country, and to this county in particular (of which I am a native, have landed interest of above one thousand pounds per annum, and as much in other counties, and am greatly interested in many other essential respects) and for that purpose I got upon the hustings before the time you mentioned, and should have been glad to have personally offered myself as a candidate for the county, but as I found a disposition almost to a man to crush me upon the spot after two attempts, and that there is one Staples who personally attacked me very injuriously and unjustly, and as I am not conscious to have deservedly one enemy in the world, the madness of any number or of any one it becomes me prudently to avoid. If with safety I could come, I would do it with the greatest pleasure and resolution, but for the sake of others, more than myself, *I have withdrawn myself.*—I desire you and the friends of the public to resolve upon what is right to be done,—I hold my resolution to offer myself a candidate *in case I am put in nomination.*—The bearer will inform you where I am, ready to receive any advice, or to do that which you think proper; and am with the greatest respect,

Brentford,

16 March, 1769,

11 o'Clock.

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient servant,

CHARLES DINGLEY.

To Charles Dingley, Esq; Candidate for the County of Middlesex, the following Queries are proposed:

I. **W**H O was the first person that introduced the art of printing hennens at Russia, to the manifest prejudice of the artificers in that branch in this county?

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II. Who

II. Who introduced the art of refining sugar in Russia, and erected a sugar-house there, to the detriment of exportation of refined sugars from hence?

III. Who was privy to, and active in measures productive of the emigration of the manufacturers of this county to that empire, to the great prejudice of the manufactories of this kingdom?

IV. Lastly, Can you tell who counterfeited the Russian stamp, with a view of defrauding the empire of its dues, to the private emolument of an individual?

If, Sir, you can answer these queries to the satisfaction of many freeholders of this county, you may, perhaps, receive the suffrage of some few votes.

†† Any man to whose name an answer in the affirmative can be prefixed, as to the three first articles, is unworthy, nay, incapacitated for any place of trust in this kingdom, and is liable to fines and imprisonment by several acts of parliament against the seduction of manufacturers, and the establishing manufactories in foreign countries by British subjects.

* The Editor of the Political Register thankfully acknowledges the receipt of two letters from the gentleman who sent the above queries, and care will be taken to follow his friendly advice.

Conclusion of the Contest between Sir William Draper and Junius. See our last Number, p. 177.

Sir WILLIAM DRAPER's Letter.

S I R,

I Have a very short answer for Junius' question: I do not either take an oath, or declare upon honour, that I have no place of profit civil or military, when I receive the half-pay as an Irish colonel. My most gracious sovereign gives it me as a pension; he was pleased to think I deserved it. The annuity of 200l. Irish, and the equivalent for the half-pay together, produces no more than 380l. per annum, clear of fees and perquisites of office. I receive 167l. from my government of Yarmouth. Total 547l. per annum. My conscience is much at ease in these particulars; my friends need not blush for me.

Junius makes much and frequent use of interrogations: they are arms that may be easily turned against himself. I could by malicious interrogations disturb the peace of the most virtuous man in the kingdom; I could take the decalogue, and say to one man, Did you never steal? To the next, Did you never commit murder? And to Junius himself, who is putting my life and conduct to the rack, Did you never bear false witness against thy neighbour? Junius must easily see, that unless he affirms to the contrary in his real name, some people, who may be as ignorant of him as I am, will be apt to suspect him of having deviated a little from the truth: therefore let Junius ask no more questions. You bite against a file: cease Viper.

W. D.
To

To Sir WILLIAM DRAPER.

S I R,

AN academical education has given you an unlimited command over the most beautiful figures of speech. Masks, hatchets, racks, and vipers dance through your letters in all the mazes of metaphorical confusion. These are the gloomy companions of a disturbed imagination;—the melancholy madness of poetry without the inspiration. I will not contend with you in point of composition. You are a scholar, Sir William, and if I am truly informed, you write Latin with almost as much purity as English. Suffer me then, for I am a plain unlettered man, to continue that stile of interrogation, which suits my capacity, and to which considering the readiness of your answers, you ought to have no objection. Even Mr. Bingley promises to answer, if put to the torture.

Do you then really think that if I were to ask a *most virtuous man* whether he ever committed theft or murder, it would disturb his peace of mind? Such a question might perhaps discompose the gravity of his muscles, but I believe it would little effect the tranquility of his conscience. Examine your own breast Sir William, and you will discover that reproaches and inquiries have no power to affect either the man of unblemished integrity or the abandoned profligate. It is the middle compound character, which alone is vulnerable;—the man who without virtue enough to avoid a dishonourable action, has yet enough to be ashamed of it.

I thank you for your hint of the decalogue, and shall take an opportunity of applying it to some of your most virtuous friends in both houses of parliament.

You seem to have dropped the affair of your regiment; so let it rest. When you are appointed to another, I dare say you will not sell it either for a gross sum, or an annuity upon lives.

I am truly glad (for really, Sir William, I am not your enemy, nor did I begin this contest with you) that you have been able to clear yourself of a crime, though at the expence of the highest indiscretion. You say that your half-pay was given you by way of pension. I will not dwell upon the singularity of uniting in your own person two sorts of provision, which in their own nature, and in all military and parliamentary views are incompatible; but I call upon you to justify that declaration, wherein you charge your ——— with having done an act in your favour notoriously against law. The half-pay, both in Ireland and England is appropriated by parliament, and if it be given to persons, who, like you, are legally incapable of holding it, it is a breach of law. It would have been more decent in you to have called this dishonourable transaction by its true name;—a job to accommodate two persons, by particular interest and management at the castle. What sense must government have had of your services, when the rewards they have given you are only a disgrace to you?

And

And now, Sir William, I shall take my leave of you for ever. Motives, very different from any apprehension of your resentment, make it impossible you should ever know me. In truth you have some reason to hold yourself indebted to me. From the lessons I have given, you may collect a profitable instruction for your future life. They will either teach you so to regulate your conduct, as to be able to set the most malicious enquiries at defiance; or, if that be a lost hope, they will teach you prudence enough not to attract the public attention upon a character, which will only pass without censure, when it passes without observation.

J U N I U S.

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

The humble Address of the Sheriff, Grand Jury, Gentlemen and Clergy, assembled at the Assizes held at Chelmsford in and for the County of Essex, on Thursday the 2d of March, 1769.

Most gracious sovereign,

WHILST we feel the happy effects, and retain in our breasts a most grateful sense of the mildness and benignity of your majesty's government, we cannot see, without the utmost abhorrence, the spirit of sedition and licentiousness, which hath lately manifested itself in such various shapes, with design to lessen the respect and affection due to your majesty, to traduce and misrepresent your parliament, and draw into contempt the authority of the courts of justice, which in no time were more happily or more eminently supplied.

Every part of the conduct of these disturbers of the public repose appears to us as weak and unreasonable as it is wicked; yet we think such proceedings, if not timely checked, may operate to subvert the constitution, and to destroy that liberty, which has been made the specious but false pretence for committing outrages of the most dangerous and alarming kind.—Already the metropolis has been frightened from its security, your majesty's repose in the seat of your government hath been most insolently invaded, and the lawful administration of justice violently obstructed. It therefore becomes our duty as friends to the constitution and faithful subjects to your majesty, to lay these our sentiments at the foot of your throne, relying, with the firmest confidence on your majesty's wisdom and justice for the exertion of such prudent and vigorous measures as may restore peace and good order amongst us.—And we do assure your majesty, that being fully persuaded that the preservation of the public tranquility and our own safety are inseparable from the security of your majesty's government, we are determined, at the risque of our lives and properties, to support your royal authority, in suppressing and subduing all seditious and riotous attempts, which threaten destruction to the state and to disturb the happiness and honour of your reign.

S I R,

I Hope that without being thought to intend *most insolently to invade his majesty's repose*, or to *fright the metropolis from its security*, I may be allowed to ask one question of the gentlemen who have subscribed the *Essex Address*, which has made its appearance in the last gazette. They say, *our courts of justice in no time were more happily or more eminently supplied.*

Now, sir, I will confine myself at present to a single instance, but a very strong one. I have always been told, that one of the firmest bulwarks of our liberties is the mode of trial by *juries*, which is peculiar to this nation. Let us then examine what has been declared from the *bench* on that head. I have read in a book, which has gone through six editions,

“ If any chief justice should, by solemn but unnecessary givings out from the *bench*, endeavour to blast the repute of *juries* with mankind, by pronouncing that the trials by *jury* would be the worst of all, were it not for the controuling power of judges, by the award of new trials and the reconsideration of verdicts, and that, indeed, it could never have subsisted had it not been for such controul, by reason of the want of capacity in jurors, and the changes of the times; or if any chief justice should arbitrarily order a *juror* to be set aside, without any cause of challenge, and forbid his being ever put upon another pannel, only because such *juror* had withstood his directory opinion in a former trial upon a matter of fact, whereof, by his oath, he was to form his own judgment; or if any chief justice should arrogate to himself at *nisi prius*, the separate provinces of judge, counsel, and *jury*, by cutting short the one, and imposing his own sense of things upon the other; and, if upon any occasion a verdict contrary thereto was persisted in to the last, should imperiously and unconstitutionally demand of the *jurors* their reasons for the same.”

Which of the two pictures is drawn from the life?

If there is truth in the *first*,

What land was ever half so blest?

If there is truth in the *second*,

What land was ever half so curst?

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the county of ESSEX.
Gentlemen,

A MONGST the names subscribed to the Chelmsford Address, it is not unpleasing to distinguish the shattered remains of the tory faction in our county, a good number of known and avowed papists, and the dregs of the present administration.

The *first* of these, in a impotent state of restlessness, have in many late instances exhibited a fruitless alacrity for efforts to which they were unequal, and which have but ratified their insignificance. The *second*, already too formidable a body amongst us, will lose no occasion to conciliate the support of government, till they shall become independent of it; till they shall have made their *head quarters* impregnable

impregnable in a station which may overawe the metropolis, and in a county the most inviting to an invader. The *last* are too well skilled in the power of *numbers* to reject a decent muster-roll of names, however scraped together, or to be at a loss to make the ravings of a ministry in the last paroxysm, with the assistance of about a *hundred* such signatures, pass at court for the entire sense of one of the chief counties in England.

But the principles of this county are known to the kingdom ; and within the space of a few years have been nobly and repeatedly asserted ; nor shall an address, thus smuggled, fix any imputation, in the public judgment, on the liberal and constitutional sentiments of eight thousand high-spirited freeholders.

The same spirit, which has ever guarded the liberties of this island ; which animated even the barbarous Britons ; which preserved the nice and curious balance of the Saxon common-wealth ; which bent the proud and invading Norman to legal government ; which extorted Magna Charta, that inestimable ratification of the rights of mankind and of Englishmen ; which restrained the Tudors ; which extirpated the Stuarts ; and which (to comprise all in one immortal act) established the *Bill of Rights*—that spirit has manifested itself in *you* ; I trust it will never abandon you ; I am confident it would impel you to reject with abhorrence every proposal that should engage you to a surrender of those *rights*, or a disavowal of the *support* of them.

It was in testimony of his vindication of these rights, that the ancestor of the noble lord, who takes the lead in the printed list of subscribers to the address, was admitted by our glorious deliverer to the participation of them ; in full confidence that the high powers and privileges communicated to that deserving foreigner would not be betrayed by his posterity. But principles are not hereditary ; and powers originally imparted as the reward and as the means of great actions, may become, in a degenerate period, utterly subversive of the end of their institution.

An enormous pension of eight years standing, granted in return for having resigned, with a good grace, in favour of the minion ; a subsequent continuation of lucrative and confidential appointments ; and lastly, the high honour of being invested with delegated authority during the flight of the same minion ; these are assaults upon public virtue, which no sense of ancestry, no duty to their country, no claims of principle, can invigorate the integrity of the *modern great* to withstand.

Every thing, I know, is expected from that mode of persuasion which has so lately produced a sage determination (the reverse of the old paradox) that *murder is no killing*. But I will venture to pronounce that the most powerful rhetoric of the whole administration will never prevail upon the freeholders of this county to subscribe to the following declaration, viz.

‘ That to assert our liberties, to remonstrate upon grievances, to be even importunate for equal justice—is to affront the courts of law, to traduce parliament, and to insult the throne.’ And

And yet this (as far as it has any meaning) is the intent and meaning of the address in question.

The address, indeed, with great discretion, is chiefly confined to general complaints against the present dangerous, desperate disposition—to maintain the constitution. When it steps from its convenient covering, and adventures into *particulars*, it is amusing to trace distinctly some of the hands that conducted the business.

‘Already the metropolis hath been frightened from its security.’

It is uncandid and cruel to smile at this article as nonsense. Mr. Muilman, who speaks here for the city, should be pardoned an ignorance of our language: the gentleman is a Hollander.—As to the idea of *security*, it is always present to him. He is fond of *securities*. He does nothing but upon *good security*. I believe he has no objection to *government security*. It was like his Dutch manners however to perk it in the face of the court with such vulgar sentiments. The very idea of a *security* is enough to diffuse a torpor through the drawing-room.

‘Your majesty’s repose in the seat of your government hath been most insolently invaded.’

This article was evidently dictated by a minister. Government, doubtless, ought never to be *active* but in ministerial hands; and *majesty* and *repose* should be constantly conjoined. Neither queen Elizabeth, however, nor Oliver Cromwell would have received such an intimation as a compliment.—There is, besides, conveyed in this article such an idea of disgust at mobs, and such an acquaintance with them, that is impossible to mistake the hand of the worn-out *bully* of the Bloomsbury gang.

—‘And the lawful administration of justice violently obstructed.’

Here I must own myself to have been at a loss at first for the circumstance alluded to. But I presently called to mind that the audacious *judicial* processes instituted against the justices and the military for the mild executions in St. George’s fields, were indeed *such violent obstructions to the lawful administration of justice* as cry aloud for the severest reprehension.—It is obvious to see by *which* of the subscribers this charge was suggested.

But the subject demands seriousness. I presume, therefore, to submit it to *you*, gentlemen, (if you shall concur with me in thinking that an address privately manufactured, and privately communicated at Chelmsford to the junto appointed to carry it up, cannot, without insult to the county, be called the *Essex* address) whether it will not become us to seize the first opportunity of a public meeting of the county to convey our *real* sentiments to the throne; sentiments full of duty and allegiance; such duty and such allegiance as the constitution warrants; such as blend a reverence for our king, with a devotion to liberty and our country.

. A Freeholder of Essex.

Account of the proceedings at the King's-arms tavern in Cornhill, pursuant to an advertisement inviting the merchants, traders, and principal inhabitants of the city of London, to meet there on Wednesday the first of March, to consider of an address to be presented to his majesty.

Wednesday, March 1. At a meeting intended for the gentlemen, merchants, and traders of the city of London, held at the King's arms in Cornhill, and convened not only by letter particularly addressed to some chosen persons, but by public advertisement, about thirty gentlemen met, when Edmund Boehm, Esq; took the chair. A variety of opinions were started. Much confusion prevailed among the gentlemen. Nothing was concluded but to adjourn that meeting till next Wednesday, and then to consider if any thing, and what should be done.

On this occasion the following speech it is said was addressed to the chairman by a gentleman unknown, who retired as soon as he had concluded it.

S I R,

FROM the pains which some gentlemen have taken, and from the declared purpose of the invitation we have received, I expected to have found a much more numerous assembly in this place. The appearance of a large number of gentlemen, let the occasion be what it may, carries with it an air of importance, and though it is not sufficient to make their proceedings either wise or respectable, it gives them the sanction of authority. I fear it will be found, upon examination, that the reasons of calling us together have been as little considered, as the means of doing it with credit and success. It is so hasty and ill-concerted a measure, that I am convinced it must be ministerial; and that instead of answering its pretended purpose of a demonstration of respect and attachment to the Th---ne, it will furnish a most humiliating proof, how little that declared intention is regarded by the public. But since we are assembled, it seems very proper for us to consider the grounds and pretences of this extraordinary summons, that if they shall appear unjustifiable or absurd, we may at least avoid being made a second time ridiculous in the eyes of our fellow citizens.

If I am not mistaken then, it is meant, in the first place, to present an address to our most gracious sovereign, full of general assurances of duty and affection to his sacred person and family. We are then to express our abhorrence of certain factions proceedings, and the authors of them, by which his government has for a considerable time past been disturbed; and particularly to declare our disapprobation of certain meetings and public associations, by which, we apprehend, the above proceedings are supported. Now, Sir, if our address were to be confined to a few unmeaning compliments to the Th---ne, no objection could possibly be raised against it. The present occasion is as proper as any other; and if this were all, we might find the business ready done to our hands, in any one of the loyal addresses which have been presented to his M——y's royal predecessors, from James the second to the commencement of the present most auspicious reign. No man feels greater pleasure than I do, in being able to separate the personal character of the best of princes from the administration of his government; and, indeed, to what a desperate condition would this country be reduced, if those objects were so united, that a loyal and affectionate people could not distinguish between them. In this view, then, our address would be perfectly, unexceptionable. It would be harmless, because it would be insignificant. But if,

as we have too much reason to suspect, it be meant to pay a compliment to the present ministry, we should previously enquire what part of their conduct deserves it. If that enquiry should not turn out to their advantage, to what end should we take upon us to contradict the general voice and sense of the nation, but to make ourselves the objects of universal contempt?—

Is there a man among us so corrupted, or so shameless, as to affirm that there is either ability or integrity in the present administration? If there be, let him stand forth; let us know him; let the public know him—let him be marked out for the perpetual scorn and derision of his country.

As to these foreign gentlemen, who appear so zealous for the laws and constitution of Great Britain, I hope and believe they have a proper sense of the benefits they enjoy under both; but I think it would be more modest in them to leave the care of these matters to the natives of the country. We may at least be presumed to understand our own affairs best, nor is it very decent for strangers to offer us their advice or assistance before they are called upon. As to their own particular sentiments, I have no objection to their laying them at the feet of the ministry, provided they do it in their own language:—If they would justice to their delicacy on this touching occasion, they must unite the melting softness of low Dutch with the natural unaffected sublimity of high German.

If, in the second part of our address, we mean no more than a general declaration of our abhorrence of faction, I shall only say, that the design, though innocent enough, is too trifling and impertinent to justify this extraordinary measure. But if we propose to give the name of faction to the present universal and well-founded discontent, let us consider a little what right we have, and how far it will be prudent in us to set the opinions of a few, very inconsiderable individuals, in opposition to the united voice of the whole people. If this be a faction I hope it will be found too strong for either court or ministry to resist. We shall be laughed at by the public, and even the ministry, who now set us on, will disown us.

But it seems there is a certain factious meeting at the London tavern, which it becomes us to oppose by a counter-meeting at the King's-Arms. Admitting the necessity of this judicious measure, let us, at least, endeavour to carry it through with confidence; and if we truly mean to oppose their proceedings, let us begin with declaring our abhorrence of their principles. They profess that their design is to support the bill of rights;—let us declare, that our wishes and designs are of a very different nature. Their declaration that they are independent of all party, will naturally lead us to confess, that most of us are the tools of the ministry; and as to what they say of the liberty of the subject, it will be hard if we cannot answer it with the prerogative of the crown.

There is one article, in which, I believe, the ministry would be glad to see us follow the example of the other assembly;—a contribution ever so small, would be a seasonable relief to them.—Whatever use they may put our address to, we may be very sure they will receive our money with respect. This will be at once the most acceptable proof of our loyalty, and an unquestionable pledge of our sincerity. Without some such collateral evidence, I greatly fear that we shall neither be thanked

for our address, nor will any sober man believe, that the authors of this insignificance, of this absurd, and impertinent project, could possibly be in earnest.

Many days previous to Wednes. March 8th, the following advertisement was published : *The merchants, traders, and principal inhabitants of London, are desired to meet on Wednesday the 8th of March, at the King's Arms, to consider whether any measures are advisable to be taken by them in the present situation of public affairs, in order to testify their loyalty and zeal for his majesty, his illustrious family, and our happy constitution.* On the very day of the appointed meeting, the addressers advertised, " That being apprized some ill disposed persons had formed a plan to create confusion at the meeting, (in which it was proposed to consider whether it was advisable to address his majesty) they, that is, several merchants, had resolved upon, and framed an address, which was lodged at the King's Arms tavern, to be subscribed, &c. &c.

When Mr. Lovell went into the room, having paid his shilling as usual for the use of it, he found Mr. Muilman, Mr. Dingley, and a few others. Mr. Peter Muilman gave him a copy of the address to read, and told him he might sign the address then on the table if he thought proper. Mr. Lovell having read it, answered, that he did not approve of the address; that he would wait till the body of merchants were met, and hear their debate, whether it was advisable to address his majesty or not, agreeable to their advertisement in the paper: for Mr. Lovell could not be supposed to believe, that Mr. Peter Muilman, Mr. Dingley, and a few others, had actually taken upon themselves to become dictators to the merchants of London; or that they had resolved upon, and framed an address, which was to be humbly subscribed, without enquiry or debate. But such was the politeness that prevailed at this country meeting, that Mr. Dingley and Mr. Muilman ordered Mr. Lovell to leave the room, if he would not sign the address. Mr. Lovell replied, he had paid his shilling at the door, that he apprehended he had a right to be there, and would stay; and that he thought their attempting to impose an address was an affront to the body of merchants.

About this time Mr. Reynolds came in; and Mr. Charles Dingley, on his entering the room, came up to him, and said, *Mr. Reynolds, you have no business here; you are a marked man; we do not like your complexion; no man is invited who will not sign the address.* Mr. Reynolds replied, I have paid the toll at the door, and come here as an inhabitant of London, in consequence of the public notice given in the papers for many days past.

Mr. Samuel Vaughan having also paid his shilling for the use of the room, came up to the table, and was going to read the address; but Mr. Peter Muilman interrupted him, and said, Sir, Sir, *You are not to read it; you may sign it if you please or withdraw.* Mr. Vaughan replied, as a merchant of London, *I have a right to read it, and I will read it: if I approve of it, I will sign it; if not, I will mention my objections at the proper time.* Mr. Muilman giving him a copy to read, said, that the address was not to be debated; your only option is to sign or withdraw.

There were at this time many people in the room; and on Mr. Charles Pole's coming in, they called out, Mr. Pole in the chair. But the addressers, who pretended to be so very apprehensive that ill disposed persons would create confusion, determined to prevent this by violently opposing all order; they cried No chair! No chair! with the utmost fury, and threatened to turn down stairs all who called for any chairman. Mr.

Peter

Peter Müllman in particular came up to Mr. Vaughan, and in a threatening, insulting manner, such as is only used by the lower class of people when they want to breed a riot, cried out, No chair! No chair! eight or ten times. Many of the addressers animated by the example of this their leader, acted the same heroic part, and the confusion became general. The chair was the object of the battle; some secured the frame, others the seat, and, for a short time, *these abhorers of disorder* triumphed in having created a compleat scene of confusion. Another chair was soon obtained; several gentlemen were requested to take it, but they refused; At last Mr. Vaughan accepted of it in compliance with many repeated solicitations, and was put in the chair accordingly. Mr. Reynolds was near him when Mr. Charles Dingley came up, and struck Mr. Reynolds a violent blow in his face with his fist, politely saying, You are a damn'd scoundrel; and on this provocation Mr. Reynolds knocked him down. Many were the attempts to dispossess Mr. Vaughan of the chair; several strokes were made at him with sticks and canes, but the blows were warded off by his friends. The chairman for some time attempted in vain to compose the tumult; for the addressers endeavoured by stamping, clapping, &c. &c. to prevent any person's being heard; but as these disgraceful measures could not long find a party to support them, many of the principal addressers thought proper to retire with their address.

The causes of the tumult being removed, peace, good order, and good manners immediately ensued; it was moved and agreed to that a committee should be appointed to prepare an address, and that the meeting should be adjourned to the Friday following, March the 10th.

Pursuant to this adjournment there was a very large and respectable meeting. The harmony and good manners which prevailed on this second day, is at least a strong presumption that there were more gentlemen at the second meeting than at the first. If any persons think it worth while to ascertain the numbers, Mr. Holdsworth, at the King's Arms tavern, can inform them; that on Friday when the question on the resolutions was put, the meeting was more numerous, by at least fifty or sixty, than at any one time on the preceeding meeting on Wednesday the 8th.

The resolutions which were reported from the committee at this second meeting, were twice read by David Evans, Esq; and on the question's being put, whether the resolutions should be agreed to or not, it passed so far unanimously, that on the negative being put the first time, one hand only was held up through mistake, (as the gentleman himself acknowledged) but on its being put up a second time, not one hand was held up against it.

Mr. Cooper, of Token-house-yard, made some very just observations on the impropriety of any address, and concluded with a motion that the resolutions should be signed by the gentlemen who had so unanimously agreed to them; but this motion was soon withdrawn, it having been very properly urged, that as it was unprecedented, it was for that reason alone improper; it was then moved and unanimously agreed to, that the resolutions should be signed by the chairman and published in all the papers, which was accordingly done. The whole was conducted with good temper and good manners, every person who attempted to speak was heard, and as no person made any objections to the resolutions, they were signed by the chairman, and the gentlemen departed, giving a full proof, by the shortness of the time engaged, that the measures they had taken were so evidently right as to be instantly approved.

We whose names are under-written declare the above relation to be strictly and literally true ; and Mr. Dingley in particular, is requested to compare the above account with that which he gave himself to the treasury on Wednesday the 8th instant.

SAM. VAUGHAN. M. LOVELL. J. REYNOLDS.

In order to obviate several anonymous misrepresentations of the transactions at these meetings, these resolutions were unanimously agreed to, and ordered to be printed in all the publick papers, viz.

“ That the means which have been used to obtain an address to his majesty were fallacious and arbitrary.

“ That the producing an address already signed, the attempting by noise and tumult to prevent the appointment of *any* chairman, and refusing to take the opinion of the general meeting on the propriety of this address, were measures never before adopted by the merchants, traders, and principal inhabitants of the city of London, and evidently inconsistent with their dignity and character.

“ That the merchant, traders, and principal inhabitants of the city of London, have always acted, *and do now act*, with so much loyalty to his majesty, affection for his illustrious family, and zeal for our present most happy constitution, that any renewed declarations of such their attachment, in this time of full national credit and profound peace, would have been absolutely unnecessary, had not some persons from sinister views, artfully misrepresented those of their fellow subjects who opposed their arbitrary proceedings, and refused to enter into all their measures, as disaffected to his majesty's person and government.

“ Therefore we do in this publick manner declare our most sincere and inviolable attachment to his majesty's royal person, his illustrious family, and the happy settlement in his august house, which we are ready to defend, with our lives and fortunes, against all their open and secret enemies, being firmly persuaded they are the only security under God for the continuance of our liberties, both civil and religious.

JOHN MILLS, Chairman.”

¶ The merchants and traders who retired with the address mentioned in the account of the proceeding at the King's Arms, having by means of repeated advertisements and private letters, obtained a considerable number of persons to sign the said address, at the merchant seamen's office over the royal exchange ; a deputation from their body waited on lord Hertford to know when his majesty would be pleased to receive the said address. Wednesday the 22d, at two in the afternoon being appointed, on that day at noon a great number of the merchants, &c. of this city, set out from the Royal Exchange, in their carriages, in order to present an address to his majesty, attended by the city marshal and constables : before they got to Cheapside, the mob shewed them many marks of their resentment, by hissing, groaning, throwing dirt, &c. but when they arrived in Fleetstreet, the multitude grew quite outrageous, broke the windows of the coaches, threw stones and glass bottles, and dispatched a party to shut the gates at Temple bar, on which the cavalcade was obliged to stop. Mr. Cook, the city marshal, and his attendants, going to open the gates, were very severely treated ; Mr. Cook's cloaths were torn off his back, and his head cut in two places. The populace then attacked the gentlemen in their carriages ; Mr. Boehm, and several of his friends being covered with dirt, were obliged to take shelter in Nando's coffee house. Some of the coaches then drove up chancery lane, Fetter lane, and Shoe lane ; but the greatest part of the gentlemen, finding it impossible to proceed, returned home. The addressers, however,

did at length reach St. James's, but the mob threw dirt at the gentlemen as they got out of their carriages at St. James's gate.

When Mr. Boehm was obliged to get out of his coach, at Nando's coffee house, to avoid the mob, in his hurry he left the original address under the cushion on one of the seats of the coach, and immediately ordered the coachman to go home; some of the mob opened the coach door, and began to search for the address, but the coachman declaring it was sent before (though he knew not where it was) they were less diligent in their search, and missed laying hold of it, by not feeling six inches further on the seat. The coachman then drove back; but instead of going home, thinking his master or mistress might want the coach next day, he drove to the coach maker's in Bishopsgate street.—As soon as Mr. Boehm was safe in the coffee house some gentlemen went to St. James's to inform the lords in waiting of the occasion of their delay, and that Mr. Boehm would follow them when the croud was a little dispersed; but after waiting an hour or more, and no address arriving, a messenger was dispatched back to the coffee house for the address, where Mr. Boehm, having missed it, remained in great suspense, and had sent to his house to have the coach searched, but no coach was arrived there, which caused great confusion for some time; at last one of the servants hinted that the coachman might have gone to the coach-maker's, as it wanted repairing; where they sent, and luckily found the address under the cushion, which was immediately forwarded to St. James's. This accident retarded the presenting the address upwards of two hours. In the mean time, those gentlemen who had arrived at St. James's, and were waiting for it, by the advice of Sir F. N. had begun to sign a copy, which one of the gentlemen had with him, in order to present it; when luckily the address came, after about a dozen had signed the copy.

When some of the coaches got to Exeter Exchange, a hearse came out of Exeter street, and preceded them, drawn by a black and a white horse, the driver of which had on a kind of rough coat, resembling a skin, with a large cap, one side black, the other white, whose whole figure was very grotesque: On one side of the hearse was painted on canvas, a representation of the rioters killing Mr. Clarke at the Brentford election; and on the other side, was a representation of the soldiers firing on young Allen in the cow-house.

The hearse attended the cavalcade to St. James's, and made a short stop at Carleton house, the duke of Cumberland's, and Lord Weymouth's, in Pall-mall, and again at St. James's gate, where they made also but a short stay, and then went off up St. James's and Albemarle street.

While the mob were at St. James's, the proclamation against riots was read, and several persons taken into custody by the soldiers; and two were taken by Lord T——, who was the only minister who had resolution to come down among the mob; his lordship had secured another, who was rescued, and his lordship received a violent blow on the head, by being thrown against a coach, and then thought it prudent to take shelter among the soldiers.

The merchants &c. being introduced to his majesty, by the earl of Hertford, lord chamberlain of the household, they presented the following address

To the King's most excellent majesty.

Most gracious sovereign,

"We your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the merchants, traders, and other principal inhabitants of your city of London, truly sensible that it has been your majesty's constant care and principal object

since you ascended the throne of your illustrious ancestors, to secure to your people the full enjoyment of their religion, laws, and liberties inviolable, and to make them happy and flourishing, under your majesty's most auspicious government, beg leave to profess our steady loyalty and duty to your majesty, and our firm resolution to exert our utmost power in supporting the honour and dignity of your majesty's crown, in preserving the safety, peace, and tranquility of your majesty's realms, in maintaining public credit, and promoting commerce, for the benefit of your subjects throughout your dominions.

And we beg leave to express our concern and abhorrence of every attempt to spread sedition, to enflame the minds, and alienate the affections of a free and loyal people from the best of kings, and his government, which we apprehend has of late been encouraged, without the least shadow of foundation, by some ill designing persons, to answer sinister and selfish purposes.

And we most sincerely pray almighty God, that your majesty's great and bright example of piety, goodness and clemency, may operate so effectually on the minds of the people as to suppress that spirit of licentiousness, profaneness, and irreligion, which has been industriously propagated, to delude the unwary to their own destruction; and that the same good providence will grant your majesty a long and happy reign over a dutiful and loyal people, and bless your endeavours with success in a firm and permanent establishment of our most excellent constitution, which is not only admired, but envied by all foreign nations.

To which his majesty was pleased to return a most gracious answer.

In the afternoon a grand council was held at St. James's.—The only officers of state present were the Earl of Hertford, Earl of Talbot, Duke of Ancafter, and Lord Weymouth; and in the evening a gazette extraordinary was published, in which was the following proclamation.

By the KING. A PROCLAMATION

For the suppressing Riots, Tumults, and unlawful Assemblies

GEORGE R.

Whereas it has been represented to us, that divers dissolute and disorderly persons have most riotously and unlawfully assembled themselves together, to the disturbance of the public peace; and have in a most daring audacious manner, assaulted several merchants and others coming to our palace at St. James's, and have committed many acts of violence and outrage before the gates of our palace; and that these acts of violence have been accompanied with threats of a most dangerous kind; We, taking the same into our most serious consideration, and being resolved to suppress all such tumultuous riots and disorders, tending to the disturbance of the public peace, and to the endangering of all order and government, have thought fit, by and with the advice of our privy council, to issue this our royal proclamation, hereby strictly charging and commanding the Lord-mayor and the justices of the peace of our city of London, and the justices of the peace of our city and liberty of Westminster, and Borough of Southwark, and of the counties of Middlesex and Surry, that they do use their utmost endeavours to prevent and suppress all riots, tumults, and unlawful assemblies; and to put in due and strict execution the laws and statutes made for preventing, and for the more speedy and effectual suppressing and punishing the same; and that all our loving subjects be aiding and assisting therein,

Given at our court at St. James's the 22d day of March, one thousand seven hundred and sixty nine, in the ninth year of our reign.

G O D save the K I N G.

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What is doing at Home.

T H E

POLITICAL REGISTER,

For M A Y, 1769.

N U M B E R XXVI.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

*Strictures on the Conduct of two successive Administrations
with Respect to the civil and religious Establishments in
Canada and the Grenadines.*

IT is a melancholy consideration, that while the minds of men of all ranks in this kingdom have wholly been employed in supporting the respective political parties to which they have thought proper to adhere, with unremitting warmth and animosity, very little, or no attention, has been paid to the greatest national objects; and the secret enemies of our happy constitution in church and state, have taken the advantage of the disposition of the times, to undermine and subvert the grand principles of the Revolution, on which is founded all the civil and religious freedom of this country. A fairer opportunity could not have presented itself, for the friends of popery to support that cause, and to promote it by degrees in the distant regions of the British empire; for the people have been so totally taken up with supporting their just rights and privileges at home, and the administration has found them such constant employment by a continued opposition to every popular wish, as if government was determined never more to consult the spirit of the people, that every thing foreign to this grand contest, seems to have passed unnoticed.

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noticed, for some time past : it would have been happy for the present ministry, if there had not been one single exception to this remark ; they would have escaped an accusation of guilt which I shall now bring against them, and which will render them if possible more odious to the nation, than they are at present.

A retirement to some distance from the capital, prevents my being personally engaged in the party disputes which so wholly engross the time and attention of the inhabitants of the metropolis, and though I am a warm advocate for every right and privilege of the people, and a firm supporter of those belonging to the freeholders of Middlesex, yet I have sufficient leisure to survey and examine the whole system of government, and the conduct of the people in general, with respect to every object that may affect the honour and safety of this nation, or endanger its excellent constitution ; and I find a supineness and inattention, or something worse, on the part of the ministry, with respect to all foreign affairs, which have been shamefully mismanaged and neglected for these two years past ; and to say the truth, I know not any one point of importance that has been negotiated with foreign courts since the peace : at the same time I see every method taken by the secret enemies of this country to prepare us to fall an easy prey to the powers on the continent, whenever a rupture shall ensue. All the ancient allies of Great-Britain are detached from her, while France is daily acquiring new strength from the most politic conventions, and is securing herself from all apprehensions of a war with Germany, in extending her domains on the side of Italy with impunity, and having accomplished these great events, is now enabled to fix her chief attention on America and Asia. Here then we are bound in duty, on the principles of sound policy, to watch every motion of so dangerous a commercial rival ; and in an especial manner to put the civil and religious establishments of all our new acquired settlements on such a footing, as is consistent with the spirit of our free constitution, and is best calculated to secure the loyalty of the inhabitants to our gracious sovereign, with such a firm attachment to the British constitution as shall engage them to withstand all the hostile attempts, as well as all the secret seductions of their former masters ; and to prefer the British government to all other. The surest way to effect this desirable end, must be, to wean them by degrees from their attachment to the Romish religion, to convince them, that liberty and property are more firmly secured and enjoyed under
protestant

protestant governments, than under popish ; but if notwithstanding all the efforts that can be made to reform them, they still continue to adhere to the tenets of the Romish church, which are incompatible with the system of the British government ; great care ought to be taken not to intrust them with any power civil or military, much less to grant them such religious and civil establishments as tend to cut off all hopes of bringing over either them or their children to the protestant religion, for it is in vain to say, they may continue to be good subjects to the crown of Great Britain, though they remain Roman catholics ; this may be true, respecting private individuals not intrusted with the least degree of power, but it will never hold good where legislation and magistracy, with religious establishments, are granted to Roman catholic subjects. If they do not, under these circumstances, revolt with the first fair opportunity in time of war, to their former sovereigns, they will at least ardently wish that the scepter of Great Britain may be swayed by a prince of their own persuasion ; and should any unhappy occasion arise similar to that of the year 1745, I think it cannot be doubted that such Roman catholic settlements would be the abettors of any popish pretender to the throne of these realms.

How great then must be the surprize of every friend of the Revolution, of every well-wisher to the protestant cause, to find that under a prince of the illustrious house of Hanover, whose family was called to the throne, to prevent the mischiefs which this nation had fatally experienced under popish government, civil and religious establishments have been granted to Roman catholics in any part of his majesty's dominions ! And what shall we think of a ministry who could confirm and ratify those privileges, in opposition to the fundamental principles of the revolution, and to the known system of the British government ! What will the people of Ireland of the Romish persuasion say, when they shall find that his majesty's new adopted subjects in Canada and the West-Indies enjoy every right and privilege of free-born protestant subjects ; while they, as a reward for many years loyalty and dutiful obedience to government, are not allowed so much as to carry arms for their defence or recreation, and are totally incapacitated for all employments civil or military ? What must they think of the subordination in which their priests are held, and of the limited toleration they enjoy for the exercise of their religion, when they shall hear, that in a province lately added to the British dominions a full enjoy-

ment of their religion with all its rites and ceremonies and religious establishments is allowed ! — Will they not justly charge us with great partiality in favour of these new subjects, and with manifest tyranny with respect to them, for surely no good reason can be given for breaking through the system of the British government in one part of the British dominions, and for adhering to it with rigour in another ; when the exclusion of papists from all offices of trust, and the prohibiting them the open exercise of their religion in all points, is a general universal law extending to all parts of the British empire. Sorry I am to communicate to them such a piece of intelligence, but the necessity of opening the eyes of the people of England, and of laying before them the conduct of administration in these important points, makes it an indispensable duty ; and I hope it will immediately appear that I do not mean to encourage the Roman catholics of Ireland to petition the ministry for the same privileges that have been granted to their brethren in Canada and the Grenadines, but to shew to the whole nation that the having made such grants in any part of his majesty's dominions, is a violation of our happy constitution, and manifestly tends to its subversion ; consequently that they ought to be instantly repealed, or the people will have a just and well-founded complaint of the highest nature against the ministry.

In some late publications, great pains have been taken to defend the Rockingham administration, and it is certain, the general tenour of conduct during that administration was highly beneficial to the commercial interests of the nation, nor were the rights and privileges of the people invaded—on the contrary they were firmly maintained, grievances were redressed, the subjects both at home and in the colonies were relieved from oppressive taxes, and with respect to foreign affairs they were managed with spirit and resolution ; but as if this great kingdom was doomed never to know a perfect administration, it must be remembered that during that period, the religious establishment of the Roman catholics in Canada took place, and also the grant of an assembly to the island of Grenada. For the former event, which is one of the greatest blows that has been aimed at revolution principles for many years, we have the authority of the right reverend Dr. John Ewer lord bishop of Landaff, who in his sermon preached before the incorporated society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts, at the anniversary meeting, in the parish church of St. Mary le Bow, London, February 20th, 1767, has the following remarkable passage, “ even the Ro-
mish

with superstition within a province lately added to the British dominions, is compleatly allowed in all points, it hath *bishops and seminaries.*" Every good protestant, every sincere advocate for the liberties of Great Britain, as established by the revolution, and confirmed by the accession of the illustrious house of Hanover, must be deeply affected to find popery compleatly allowed in all points in any part of his majesty's dominions, and the more so, that this establishment should either take place, or be compleated, under an administration which in all other points merited the esteem and approbation of the people. If this compleat allowance of the Romish superstition in all points with bishops and seminaries, is in consequence of any articles of capitulation, I can only say, that no general officer under the crown of Great Britain can possibly be vested with a power of making a capitulation expressly contrary to the constitution of his country, and therefore this cannot be pleaded as an excuse for suffering an establishment to gain ground every day, which must tend to increase popery, and to extend its influence in his majesty's colonies. I am sorry to find that any man should get consecrated in Flanders, bishop of Quebec, and should now openly exercise all the functions of a Romish bishop in that place. It seems to me a strange absurdity to punish a private priest with a heavy fine and imprisonment for saying mass in London, and to allow another to hold the episcopal dignity, and openly perform all the rites and ceremonies of his religion in Quebec. The laws in force against popery extend to all his majesty's dominions, and if their efficacy is destroyed in one part, it is injustice to urge them with rigour in another; but surely no real lover of his country would wish to see them evaded in any one instance in any part of the British empire, for on the due execution of them depends the preservation of our present system of government; and our security against the placing a popish prince, at any distant period of time, on the throne of these realms. I would therefore humbly propose, that the ministry should lay before the public without delay, the actual state of the religious establishments of popery throughout Canada at this present time, but particularly in the capital of Quebec, that proper remonstrances may be made on so important an occasion, at this season when addresses are daily carrying up to the throne. This object might properly form part of an address from the incorporated society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts, whose views must be greatly defeated by the establishment of popery in any of our settlements.

settlements in America, at least if they pay any regard to the memory of their immortal founder William the Third.

But if our surprize and indignation is justly raised at this complete allowance of the Romish superstition at Quebec, with what horror shall we not behold a ministry who could grant a civil establishment, with a power of legislation, to Roman catholics in any part of the British dominions? Yet that this is the case, I am informed by a very curious pamphlet, intitled, *The Grenada Planter*, which has just fallen into my hands, and is, *I suppose*, to be had of the booksellers whose names are annexed to the title page.* It is evidently written by some Roman catholic subject of the island of Grenada, and is the severest libel upon the present administration that any pen can produce, even on the definition lately given, that truth may be a libel. The subject of this work is of so important a nature, and the spirit of triumph on the part of the Roman catholics bursts forth in such a bold and daring manner, that it would be an injustice done to every protestant subject in his majesty's dominions, not to lay the contents before the public; and it may have this beneficial effect—to shew that the principles of popery never vary, and that whenever there is an opportunity either in a civil or religious capacity, to exercise the spirit of persecution, it will break forth into action: a very strong motive this, that the professors of the Romish superstition, should never be entrusted with any authority under a protestant government. It is possible likewise, that the facts contained in this work, and the work itself, might have been lost, or passed by unnoticed, if I had not determined to take this method to place them in a conspicuous light.

The public is hereby informed of his majesty's goodness in granting an *assembly*, that is to say an house of representatives to the island of Grenada, in the year 1766, consequently during the administration of the marquis of Rockingham. If I am not greatly misinformed in the winter of 1765, and the spring of 1766, strong applications were made to government from the new settlements, for assemblies, which occasioned very warm and animated debates on that subject in a certain c——; it was urged against granting such assemblies, that the old inhabitants who were people of property, character and family, would be liable to be represented, by persons of small property, of bad characters, and of low extraction; in short, by refugees and adventurers from England, and from the several provinces of America, because none but protestants could be elected; or it would lay government under a necessity of violating the first principles of our pre-

* J. Almon, Piccadilly; W. Johnston, Ludgate-street; G. Pearth, Cheap-side; and G. Keith, Gracechurch-street.

sent constitution, by permitting them to choose papists for their representatives: it was therefore declared, that it would be better to avoid both these inconveniences by not granting them any assemblies, but leaving the administration of government in the hands of the governor and council. The argument, however, that all his majesty's subjects ought to enjoy the common privilege of being represented within their respective provinces prevailed, and assemblies were granted to the new settlements. When this grant was made known to the inhabitants of the island of Grenada, an ordinance of the council was immediately passed to regulate elections, and to ascertain the qualifications of voters and candidates. This prudent measure of the worthy governor and council gave the alarm to all the new subjects, the French papists; and from this event every step taken by the governor and council, and all the transactions public and private of the former, are arraigned in the most indecent manner by *the Grenada planter*, who describes the king's governor and council, and all their friends, by the polite appellation of the honourable *junto*. The governor, to his immortal honour be it recorded, took every proper means, in a constitutional manner, to prevent the election of persons who were either papists themselves, or chosen by their votes; but not being able to oppose the interest of these new subjects, an assembly was chosen so totally under the influence of the new subjects, that the governor thought proper to dissolve it. *The Grenada planter* says, because it was not composed of such members as the *junto* wished for. This modest writer then recites some instances of cruelty exercised by the governor, in order to obtain the votes of the new subjects in favour of his friends. These charges are of a very deep dye, and such as the governor, who I am informed is still in London, will not, nay cannot in justice to himself, pass over in silence. A second assembly was chosen according to our *planter*, "with a majority so much devoted to the governor's views and pretensions, and so intimately connected with him, that every thing was expected to go on according to his wishes; he was now happy through his arts and solicitations in having two *juntos*", by which he means the council and the assembly, and these he charges with taxing the island with 12000*l.* for the governor's private use, and to apply to the basest purposes. In short it is impossible to conceive why G——r M——le, who is deemed a man of spirit and honour, should be silent under such foul accusations; it is a duty he owes himself and the public to declare his innocence, and to expose the malicious writer, who
appears

appears by every presumptive circumstance to be no other than Mr C——d de R——c, who openly menaced the said governor with this kind of treatment in one of the public news papers. We are then informed “that this assembly, which is annual, being dissolved, it was not surprising that gentlemen of the first property in the island, and of unblemished characters, in the opinion of every body, except the governor and his *junta*, should endeavour to get into the assembly, in order to put a stop to such profusion of public money, and to the passing of such oppressive and unpopular acts, or that a few new subjects, *French papists*, should seem desirous of being admitted into legislative offices. The question is then openly put by the planter,—“Whether a people who, when required to surrender to his Britannic majesty’s troops, immediately consented, who by express capitulation, reserved the free public exercise of their religion, who by treaty had the same confirmed to them, and who to a man, have taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, can, consistently with the law of nations, be deprived of the liberty of holding legislative offices in the colonies? Or is it sound policy to raise distinctions between conquerors and conquered, under pretext of religion, particularly in a climate where it is well known bigotry does not exist”? I answer to this *planter*, and I wish he had been so answered long since, by the people in power—that the law of nations which he refers to, ever did make a political distinction, between conquerors and conquered, and that the history of all nations proves, that the conquered never were admitted to legislative offices, or otherwise put upon an equal footing with the conquerors; this is sufficient, without mentioning the particular system of the British government, which disqualifies all papists not only conquered, but even natural born subjects, from bearing office in her territories. If the planter and his friends had not known this, they might as well have stipulated by the capitulation, or in the treaty of peace, for legislative power, as for the free, public exercise of the Romish religion, which perhaps, it will be found was granting an indulgence that the laws of Great Britain prohibit.

“Writs being issued for the new assembly, the election of four members to represent the town of St. George, came on, when Mr. Demouchy, a new subject, presented himself, and was set up as a candidate, and several old as well as new subjects, crowded to vote for him, but to no purpose. Mr. Robertson, the returning officer, perceiving that he was a papist, refused to set his name down upon the poll, or to receive any votes

votes for him. This arbitrary proceeding, of course, occasioned some altercation. Mr. Cazaud, a gentleman of considerable property, but in a different part of the island, urged strongly to have his friend admitted as a candidate, but to no purpose; whereupon, conformable to the civil law, to which the new subjects had formerly been accustomed, he began to read a protest, signed by several persons against the said refusal, or any laws to deprive them of their just rights; his voice being low, and the noise very great, Mr. Demouchy took the protest in order to read it, but they were soon quieted by being both taken into custody by order of the returning officer, and a certain justice of peace then present; about this time, Mr. Robertson was appointed an assistant judge, (I suppose as a recompence for his proper behaviour at the election) here the illegality, as well as partiality of Mr. Robertson's conduct, began to shine forth, no power was vested in him to enquire into the principles of religion of any man, by the election act which then appeared. Any person having taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and subscribing the test before the governor and council, *if otherwise duly qualified*, (by this clause Mr. Cazaud you should have understood, *being a protestant*) had a right to sit in the assembly. The protest was forwarded to the governor by Mr. Robertson, together with a letter representing the new subjects as having insulted the legislature of the colony, and having acted in a seditious manner. The governor immediately called a council to take this terrible paper into consideration. Mr. Cazaud was required to appear before their honours on a certain day; but he being engaged to go to an election on that very day, wrote an excuse, but promised to wait on them two days after. A warrant was issued against him, and on the 2d of December, 1767, he was taken into custody as he entered the town with an intent to appear before the council next morning. The Grenada planter acquaints us, that the result was, that the governor and council confined Mr. Cazaud till he made the following acknowledgement. "The committee are of opinion that Mr. Cazaud de Roumillac do express the deepest concern for having incurred the displeasure of his majesty's council, by not complying with their summons, and by refusing to answer any questions put to him by them. They are likewise of opinion, that he ought to express his fixed resolution to be always ready, in time to come, to shew respect, which is due to the dignity and authority of that board. And they are further of opinion, that he ought to express the sense he entertains of the justice and moderation of the council, from the nature of their warrant for his commitment, as

by that warrant he would be immediately liberated, on making a proper submission, praying that, in consideration of this submission, we would be pleased to order that he should be released from his confinement. Then he was ordered by the council to appear before them on the Tuesday following; but he not being desirous of experiencing any more of their lenity and moderation, set out for London, by the way of Martinique and France; and, *since his arrival, has actually obtained admission for a certain number of new subjects both into the council and assembly, to the great joy of every impartial man of property in the island of Grenada.*"

Indeed, Mr. Cazaud de Roumillac, I am heartily sorry for it; and I believe all his majesty's protestant subjects will join me in lamenting this impolitic concession, especially when they are further told even by this very Grenada planter, that, previous to his actually obtaining admission for a certain number of *papists* into the council, and into the assembly, government at home must have been well informed of the violent proceedings of the assembly, which the governor had most prudently prorogued before he set off for England: proceedings which shew the danger all protestant governments stand exposed to, by granting the least legislative power or authority to papists. For though the returning officer, Mr. Robertson, had done nothing but what was consistent with his duty, and agreeable to the act of legislation of the colony, and to the constitution of Great Britain, yet the assembly thought proper to call him to the bar of their house, and for his spirited conduct, meriting the applause of all good subjects of this realm in refusing to put a papist as a candidate, they committed him to prison; and also Mr. Nethercote, a magistrate, who, in virtue of his office, had furnished Mr. Robertson, the returning officer, with constables to take into custody Mr. Demouchy and Mr. Cazaud for their *improper, seditious* behaviour, in reading a protest against the act of legislation of the colony.

The sense the governor and council entertained of the conduct of the assembly is so properly expressed, and is such a standing memorial of the fatal effects of admitting papists to exercise authority in any part of the British dominions; that every protestant throughout Great Britain ought to be furnished with a copy; and, I am apt to think, the a———n will hardly thank *the Grenada planter* for having, in the wantonness of triumph, thought proper to print these resolutions of the governor and council, which fully demonstrate, that not one single new subject, that is to say, no French papist, ought to have obtained admission either to the council or to the assembly; and I have the strongest reason to believe, that the m——y never imagined,

imagined, when they made this grant to Mr. Cazaud, that the Grenada planter would have had the effrontery to have published so audacious a libel against a most excellent governor; and indeed, if truth be a libel, against the m——y itself, whom no one act could render so despicable in the eyes of protestants, the loyal subjects of a protestant sovereign, as this.

It is hardly credible, that any m——y should be so weak, or so wicked, as to grant admission into the legislature of the island of Grenada, after having perused the following reports of the committee, and resolutions of the council board, on the proceedings of an assembly not composed of popish members, but only acting under the influence of popish constituents.

“ It is the opinion of your committee, that his majesty’s natural born subjects of this colony, have the greatest reason to be alarmed at the late attempt, made by a number of his majesty’s new adopted roman catholic subjects, to intrude and force themselves into the legislature, and, consequently, into offices and places of trust, in opposition to the laws of Great Britain, and to an express act of the legislature of this colony; which attempt we cannot but consider to be not only most undutiful to his majesty, as being in direct contradiction to his royal commission and instructions, under which authority alone, that legislature is constituted, but likewise evidently dangerous to the safety of the island.

“ It appears to your committee, that the present assembly, chosen almost entirely by the said new adopted roman catholic subjects, seems to have encouraged them in this audacious attempt, as appears by *their sending to prison one of the judges of the court of common pleas for these islands*, who acted as returning officer for the town of St. George, for refusing to confess at the bar of their house, that he had been guilty of a breach of their privilege, in refusing, in an illegal and unconstitutional manner, to admit as a candidate for the said town, Jean Baptiste Demouchy, who was known by the returning officer to be a professed roman catholic, and for refusing to acknowledge and ask pardon for his fault; although it appears to your committee, that the said returning officer acted agreeable to an act of these islands, and conformable to the advice of his majesty’s attorney-general, whose opinion on the true construction of the act he had the precaution to take; and likewise by committing to prison Mr. Nethercote, one of the magistrates of this island, for refusing to confess at the bar of their house, that he had been guilty of a breach of privilege of their house, by his illegal and disorderly behaviour at the said election: though it appears to your committee, that the said magistrate acted as became his station in committing, to the

custody of a constable, one Mr. Cazaud, *who was no freeholder of the town of St. George, and who was disturbing the freedom of the said election*; which proceedings of the house and assembly appear to your committee, to be fatal to the properties and liberties of his majesty's subjects, as it is evident what dreadful consequences must arise from any one branch of the legislature of these colonies, arbitrarily assuming to themselves the power of committing to prison judges and magistrates, though acting to the best of their judgments, agreeable to the laws of Great Britain, and the acts of the legislature of this colony; or from either branch of the legislature, creating by votes, or declarations, privileges to themselves, not warranted by the constitution or laws of these islands.

“ Your committee cannot likewise but represent the very extraordinary proceedings of the house of assembly, with respect to a very dutiful address, signed by far the greatest part of his majesty's natural born subjects of this island, and presented to his excellency and the board, (at a time that no assembly existed) setting forth their just alarm at the late attempt of the new adopted roman catholic subjects, to intrude and force themselves into the legislature, &c. and likewise setting forth their bold presumption in delivering a paper, called a protest, wherein they deny the authority of laws made with the consent of their own representatives, and the power of legislature, established by the king's commission and instructions, to make acts to bind them; and praying his excellency and the board to take such measures to defeat the said attempt, as to his excellency and the board should seem meet.

“ Your committee cannot but consider the right of petitioning the crown or the crown's representative, or any branch of the legislature, as the inherent or indubitable privilege of every British subject. Yet the assembly, from the nature of a message sent to his excellency, requiring a copy of the said address, and from the proceedings of their committee of grievances thereupon, seemed to have viewed this transaction in a criminal light. The council board, having duly considered the matter of the report of their committee, came to the following resolutions.

“ Resolved unanimously, that the late attempt of his majesty's new adopted roman catholic subjects of this island, to intrude themselves into the legislature, is a manifest violation of the laws of Great Britain, and of the constitution and laws of this colony.

“ Resolved unanimously, that neither branch of the legislature have power, by vote or resolution, to create to themselves privileges

privileges not warranted by the constitution and laws of these islands.

“Resolved unanimously, that either branch of the legislature committing to prison any of his majesty’s subjects, upon privileges created to themselves by vote or resolution, not warranted by the constitution and known laws of these islands, is subjecting his majesty’s subjects, and the freedom of their persons, to most arbitrary determinations, highly destructive of their liberties.

“Resolved unanimously, that it is the inherent right of every British subject, humbly to address his majesty, his majesty’s representative, or either branch of the legislature, for the redress of grievances, or the prevention of any evils they may be apprehensive of.

“Resolved unanimously, that it is the opinion of the board, that from the unhappy state of this island, occasioned by the undutiful and unconstitutional conduct of the latter, and by the late very extraordinary proceedings of the assembly, there is no prospect that any public legislative business will be carried on for the good of these islands until his majesty’s pleasure shall be known on these matters; and we do therefore recommend to his excellency, forthwith to transmit to his majesty, a copy of the report of the committee, and of these resolutions.”

Throughout the whole conduct of the governor and council, a spirit of freedom, and a firm attachment to the constitution of Great Britain, manifestly appears, yet when the assembly met after the prorogation, viz. in the month of March, 1768, they took into consideration the above report of the committee, and the resolutions of the whole council, and passed such counter resolutions, that the resolutions of the council thereby, are deemed a libel on the house of assembly, to these they added an address to his majesty, complaining of the governor and council, soon after which the house was adjourned, and governor M——le came to England. It does not appear, by the Grenada planter, what became of the resolutions, and of the address of the assembly to his majesty; but it is most probable they were transmitted to Mr. Cazaud, at this time arrived in London, as their agent, *who actually obtained admission, for a certain number of new subjects, both into the council and assembly.* The public will certainly be at a loss to conceive what sort of rhetoric Mr. Cazaud could make use of to induce the m——y, so highly to favour the demands of him and his associates, as to break through one fundamental part of the constitution, by admitting papists into the legislature of any part of the British dominions, and into offices of the highest
trust

trust and honour, after the strong and animated resolutions of a patriotic protestant council, and of a most worthy governor; and after the said governor and council had been abused and insulted in the grossest manner by these new adopted roman catholic subjects. What must the people of England think of a m——y, who countenance the seditious behaviour of conquered roman catholic subjects, in one part of his majesty's dominions, who reward them by granting all they desire, instead of punishing them for publishing libels against the governor and council, and giving his majesty's immediate representatives the infamous title of a junto—while, in other parts of his Majesty's dominions, his natural-born, loyal, protestant subjects have been treated with the utmost rigour by the same m——y, for asserting and maintaining those very inherent rights, belonging to every British subject, so strongly pointed out in the spirited resolutions of the council of Grenada.

But we are told Mr. Cazaud slipped away privately from Grenada, at a time that he was summoned to appear before the council, after having been pardoned for a former contempt, in not appearing at a summons of the governor and council—and that he set out for London, by the way of Martinique and *France*; and yet this seditious, new adopted roman catholic subject, who had interrupted the freedom of elections, and dared to propose his friend, Mr. Demouchy, as a candidate, though a known papist, and though he himself was no freeholder of the place for which he proposed to get him elected, who had read a manifesto to the people against the legislative authority of the island, under the title of a protest, and who had spirited up the assembly to commit to prison the returning officer for having done his duty as a man of honour, is the very man who obtained, from our present glorious a———n, the admission of papists into the legislature, and council of Grenada.

Our protestant brethren in North America, will certainly imagine that Mr. Cazaud picked up some powerful charm as he travelled through *France* to London, to bewitch an a———n into such an unconstitutional measure, while *their* agents have not been able to obtain the smallest favour from them; but, on the contrary, one province has been menaced, that some of the members of its legislative assembly should be brought to condign punishment, for exercising the inherent right of every subject to petition the crown, or the crown's representative, for redress of grievances, or, *the prevention of any evils they may be apprehensive of.*

Some late writers at home, of political animadversions on the conduct of a———n, must be astonished at the severity
with

with which prosecutions have been carried on against them for these productions under the denomination of libels; and, at the same time, that the *Grenada planter*, a most audacious libel on the very upright constitutional administration of government in the colony of Grenada, has not only been published at London, and passed unnoticed; but the author, as well as the abettors of the sedition contained in it, and of the subversion of our constitution intended by it, have carried their point with the m——y; and have gained from them what JAMES II. durst not have granted.

Having stated this important transaction in its just and true light, I will not doubt, that the m——y will immediately set their numerous writers to work, in vindication of their conduct—the public will impatiently expect some cogent reasons of state, for this material alteration in the system of British government; as well as for that manifest contrast of measures observed, in the treatment of the petitions and remonstrances transmitted home from the protestant subjects of North America, and of those which Mr. Cazaud had the honour to present, in favour of his majesty's new adopted roman catholic subjects in Grenada.

Governor M——le also owes the public some satisfaction on the subject, or people will be apt to imagine, that he found on his arrival here, that the zeal he had shewn in the protestant cause, and in preserving the laws and constitution of Great Britain inviolate, in his government, did not meet with that approbation he had a right to expect. His silence, indeed, with respect to the libel against his government, and during the application of Mr. Cazaud to the m——y, is very alarming to every protestant subject, and it is with much concern we find his government, which devolved in his absence on lieutenant G——r F——e, is likely to continue in his hands, as there is not the least rumour of G——r M——le's return, to resume the administration of that government. It is not from any personal objection to G——r F——e that this circumstance is mentioned, but because in the same libel against G——r M——le, an address to lieutenant G——r F——e, in quality of successor to G——r M——le, is inserted; which contains such fulsome adulation of the lieutenant governor, and such indecent reflections on G——r M——le, that there can be little or no hopes, now the new adopted roman catholic subjects are admitted into the council, and into the assembly, that this worthy governor will be ordered to reside on his government, at least, during the existence of the present m——y: we may therefore look upon the protestant interest as lost for the present in his majesty's islands
of

of Grenada and the Grenadines. Nor shall we hesitate to pronounce, that if this be one of the blessed fruits of the peace, we had much better have been without it; an acquisition made and preserved, on terms which violate the laws and constitution of Great Britain, may induce us justly to observe, "that a few more such conquests would be the ruin of this nation".

The influence such a transaction as this must have on our foreign affairs, is very apparent; if Mr. Cazaud returned to Grenada the same way as he came to London, by *France*—can it be any longer matter of surprize, that such a politic people should treat every representation, every memorial, from such a m—y with contempt—a m—y that tamely yields up a most valuable part of the constitution of their country, to the insolent pretensions of mutinous, conquered roman catholic subjects; and, at the same time, violates the inherent privileges of his majesty's natural-born protestant subjects in the heart of the kingdom, and in the most valuable of its old established colonies—cannot surely be dreaded by any of the powers on the continent; accordingly we find alliances formed highly repugnant to the interests of Great Britain, and have the mortification to be told, that the endeavours of the present a———n, through the channel of the k—'s ministers abroad, were so far from preventing the formidable alliance just entered into, by four of the principal powers of the continent, that they served only to facilitate and hasten its conclusion.

In a word, it is high time to call off the attention of the people from objects of lesser moment, to engage them to unite in the common cause of the preservation of our constitution on the grand principles of the Revolution; on which principles, the friends of freedom, and of the protestant religion, watched the motions of the secret and avowed supporters of the roman superstition, with unwearied diligence; and took care, at an interesting crisis, to prevent their seating a popish pretender on the throne of these realms; and happily settled the British crown in the illustrious house of that pious protestant prince, who now wears it: this was done to avoid popery and arbitrary power its constant attendant, and that liberty and felicity might run in their proper channel, being maintained and supported by the principles of the protestant religion. If this barrier is once broke down, by the admission of popery into the legislative assemblies of the people in the most distant regions of the British empire, the principles of the Revolution are opposed, the protestant interest will be daily lessened, freedom will lose its force, and the next generation may fall back into that state of civil and religious slavery, which our ancestors

cestors endeavoured to preserve them from, at the expence of their lives and fortunes. The first encroachments therefore of popery on our constitution, merit the timely attention of the whole nation, and a minute enquiry into the present state of the legislation of Grenada, is an object of the highest importance: as such, I recommend it to the public in general; and, in a particular manner, to *every supporter* of the bill of rights. M.

To the Editor of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

The two following speeches were pronounced by a noble lord last session in the Irish parliament, and as administration will probably pursue that measure next winter, the following strong coercive reasons against the mode in which the augmentation of the Irish army was proposed to parliament, may not be unacceptable to your readers,

I am, sir, yours, &c. T. C.

My Lords,

MY opinion I must confess to you is very different from the noble Earl's who spoke last; when I reflect upon the present situation of affairs, when I consider the dangers he has mentioned to you, which must be not only certain, but pressing and imminent, before I shall ever give my assent to an increase of the military, to this country's straining and exerting itself in so extraordinary a manner.

My lords, I must consider this country absolutely incapable of sustaining this additional burthen, as she already sustains a weight by no means inferior to our sister country, which I hope will appear evidently from the following remarks.

My lords, the land-tax of Great Britain in the Year 1765, amounted to upwards of £2,000,000; supposing this to have been collected at a modus of two shillings in the pound, the annual rental of Great Britain would amount to upwards of £20,000,000. The annual rental of Ireland is computed to be about £2,500,000;* the current services of the Year 1764 in England amounted to about £8,000,000; and here, my lords, they were somewhat under £1,000,000, in both countries about two fifths of their annual produce, not to

* Ireland contains 11,000,000 of acres, and if they are estimated in the gross to produce 5 shillings an acre annually the rental of Ireland would be exactly 2,750,000.

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speaking a word of their gains by trade, in which they must excel us beyond any assignable ratio: My lords, if the premises are true, the conclusion is undeniable; and if it be really so, if we sustain a burthen by no means inferior, for us, to that which Great Britain herself sustains without any of her resources, why shall we be called upon at this time when *the din of war is hushed*, and when danger is no more, to exert ourselves in this extraordinary manner, to saddle ourselves and posterity with £ 40,000 per annum, the least expence that this augmentation will cost us; for what! to combat a phantom raised up by a *military* administration for their own selfish designs and purposes.

My lords, the reasons that have been produced by the noble earl to enforce this measure are the following: first, that an augmentation of the army of Ireland at this period is absolutely necessary; my lords, to reason and argument I pay the greatest respect, but if I had been born in the days of Aristotle and had been one of his scholars I would not have implicitly believed his *ipse dixit*: to this opinion of the noble earl's I oppose that of our ancestors in the year 1699, at a time when *intestine commotion shook the land*, when our all was at stake; I oppose to it that of England herself during the course of last war who never left more than 6000 men for the defence of this country: The wisdom of our ancestors thought 14000 men sufficient at a time when the whole world was in arms. Modern policy thinks differently, and we are indebted, I am told, to a noble lord*, lately possessed of a lucrative employment among us, for the repeal of the clause in the 10th of William III. limiting our forces to 12000 men; I presume he did it with the same patriotic intentions that he introduced a bill very much for the benefit of this country, to take place upon a contingency that will never happen, or that he has obtained among his family's *merited* monopoly of public employments, the reversionary grant of comptroller and solicitor general for the affairs of Ireland. Secondly, that the merits of the British soldiery during the course of last war were very great; and that one riot committed by a few should

* Lord B——p, who proposed the repeal of the 10th of William III. when secretary to his father the earl of H——d in Ireland, introduced a bill in the house of commons granting a premium upon the exportation of corn from Ireland; but this not taking place till the several species of enumerated grain should be so low as can never happen well in that country, renders it totally inoperative.

not be imputed to the whole army in Ireland.* No doubt, my lords, their merits were very great, but if I have acted well in one part of my life, shall it be a licence for me to act ill for the remainder? If they have performed their parts as good citizens abroad, when they come home flushed with conquest shall they exercise their ferocious spirit upon the inhabitants of this country? and since like causes always produce similar effects, while the army remains in its present undisciplined state, if the same opportunity shall occur, the very same scene will be acted over again. Thirdly, much stress has been laid upon the calculation of the expence of the augmentation now before the house of commons, though I by no means presume to question the accuracy of it, permit me to express the wonder of an ignorant man at one particular; the annual expence we shall incur by this increase is computed at £35,000, the bare pay, my lords, of 3000 men at sixpence a day will exceed £27,000 per annum, so that there will be left but £8,000 per annum to pay for the contingencies of 3000 men who shall do duty here, in a country where the staff officers alone, who do little or nothing, annually consume upwards of £30,000. Fourthly, that the insurrections of the lower clais in the southern parts of this kingdom were most outrageous I freely acknowledge, but I hope this will be no inducement to your lordships to think an increase of the army necessary, when you shall reflect with what facility those riots were quelled whenever the civil power was exerted, and whenever gentlemen of fortune aided and supported it. Fifthly, if these deluded people were leagued with our foreign enemies, why was it not mentioned during the course of the last war, when we might have dreaded their combinations? But at present I fear them not; no, my lords, I rather fear that from them we may have imbibed their principles of despotism, and are willing to reduce them to practice by an increase of the standing army.

Sixthly, that a French war will soon ensue, and that we shall be first invaded, there is no man can assert; unless he has entered into the cabinet councils of our enemies, and penetrated

* In the earl of H—d's administration, a soldier having committed a murder for which he was lodged in Newgate, the whole regiment at noon-day broke open the gaol and let 70 felons loose; no satisfaction having been made to the civil power for this outrage, a parliamentary enquiry was instituted, but the then secretary and other friends of that nobleman, gave it such vigorous opposition that it was obliged to be dropped.

into the secrets of their hearts : but if this had been really the case, think you, my lords, that England's care would have been partial ? That she would have neglected making necessary preparations for her own defence ? That it would have extended only to a country considered in other respects as a step-sister.

Seventhly, it has been said that this has been the only request his majesty has made to us, in lieu of the many benefits conferred upon us this session : indebted as we are to him, let us pour forth the abundant thanks of a most grateful people ; but, my lords, let us not forget ourselves, let us not render that tribute to the best of princes which he would blush to receive, an unnecessary expence which we are unable to pay.

Lastly, that the requisition of four shillings in the pound by the tax laid upon absentee pensions and employments, will indemnify the expence attendant on this measure ; my lords, I acknowledge this argument has great weight, but you would do well to reflect, whether you ought, in consideration of a tax that is precarious, biennial, and which the very next Parliament may take off, to impose a devouring expence upon yourselves and posterity for ever.

My lords, had the defence of this country been the true object of the proposers of an augmentation, it would have been done by act of parliament, provision would have been made for those troops while they remained among us and no longer ; but at present what security have we that they shall remain among us ? A security that would excite our laughter, if the wretchedness of our situation did not impress us with opposite sensations.

My lords, if the whole Roman people, to a man, rose up in the theatre to do honour to the poet the restorer of industry and of agriculture ; if the united praises of Britain have perpetuated the fame of her Chatham ; why should we refuse the just tribute of our praise to the gentleman who introduced the militia bill into the house of commons ? Or if we should deny it to him, posterity will remember it with tears of gratitude ; she will behold him baffled, yet still persevering for the benefit of this country ; she will view him, like the giant Antæus, collecting an accumulation of strength from every overthrow ! Here, indeed, would have been a method for providing for the defence of this country ; by this means you would have had a body, who, from their very nature, could not be removed from its defence ; you would have slept secured from foreign, from domestic foes ; nor would you have

have dreaded the sacrilegious hands that have been lifted up against the laws of their country: but instead of doing this, or recalling home the veteran army, you are about to provide for those who shall be at once a standing army and a militia, so denominated not from its merits, but from its defects; partaking of all its disadvantages, without any of its benefits; for those who shall do duty at the door of an inn, who shall be employed in harrassing the helpless inhabitants; an undisciplined rout, busied perhaps, like their brethren at Newgate, in storming a gaol to let out their friends in iniquity; have you forgot the time when a band of armed banditti broke open the principal gaol in this country? We have read, my lords, of the Roman empire being put up to auction by the Prætorian guards, when the emperor Didius Julius bought it; we have heard of revolutions caused in the Ottoman empire by the Janissaries; but these miscreants infinitely transcended them, for they endeavoured, as far as they could, by overturning their cardinal support, entirely to eradicate all order and government. If an offender against any one law shall suffer condign punishment, shall not those against whom every offended law in the statute book cries out for vengeance, shall not they suffer any? No, while the legislature, like Solomon about parricide, deliberated upon a punishment adequate to the greatness of their crime, the wisdom of government thought proper to interfere, and to screen them not from punishment, but from enquiry.

If, my lords, what I have said may have offended any persons, let them wait for ample satisfaction, whenever this scheme shall take place, when we shall no longer be the object of envy or of persecution, when the flinty heart of power itself shall relent, and when pity shall find, and shall weep over us.

My lords, it grieves me that it should fall to my lot to rise up in opposition to this measure, but as I have undertaken it I will perform my duty; I will endeavour to rouse us from that lethargy which oppresses us.—My lords, it is a remark of Mr. Locke's, that prerogative has been most extended during the reigns of the most unoffending princes, and I am sorry to observe, that this greatest stretch of power has been made during the time of an hitherto unsullied and seemingly most excellent administration,

*Hide thee in smiles and affability,
For if thou hast thy native semblance on,*

Not

*Not Erebus itself were dim enough
To hide thee from prevention.—*

My lords, if the most flourishing states of antiquity, if Athens and Sparta, if Rome herself, have fallen victims to an unnecessary increase of the military, what effect, think you, will it have in this embryo of a constitution already more than half fallen by our own faults?

If this was to be the last of their exactions, if we were certain of that, this measure would come better recommended; but as we may be morally certain that it will be introductory to more, how can we remain unactive at such a crisis? And if we could divest ourselves of all regards to the interest of this country, private reasons, affecting every member of the community, should alone induce us to oppose it.

My lords,

I AM extremely sorry to trouble you again upon any other occasion; I should most willingly have remained silent, but here to a person whose tongue could lisp out the accents of disapprobation, to be silent and to be criminal, would be synonymous.

To those, my lords, who extol the wealth and affluence of this country, I would recommend it to condescend to turn their eyes from the luxurious superfluity which a very few wallow in, to the bulk of the inhabitants of Ireland who live upon a root dug out of the earth like the beasts of the field, who are infinitely worse than those who are in a state of nature, because they are acquainted with better; and who annually export themselves in vast numbers from Ireland (the only country in the world perhaps where people are a drug) to obtain in America and elsewhere, that employment, which, from the restrictions laid upon the trade of this unhappy country, is absolutely denied to them here, contrary to the policy of all wise nations, and to that of the Romans in particular, who seem to have extended their conquests that they might extend their benevolence by improving, not annihilating, those advantages they derived from nature.

It has been observed by a noble lord that we must not look for a parliamentary security that these forces shall remain among us, that this would tie up the hands of the crown, and materially abridge the prerogative. My lords; prerogative is defined by Mr. Locke to be "a discretionary power
vested

vested in the crown to act beyond the prescription of law, and sometimes even against it, for the *public benefit*," the great and excellent author further observes, that defining any part of it by positive laws cannot be called an abridgement of it, for, says he, "the people only declare by this, that what they gave him for the public benefit, they did not intend him when perverted from that end; and that since the end of all government was the preservation and advantages of the whole community, it followed, that no alteration tending to that could be an encroachment upon a right that any body ought to have."

My lords, much stress has been laid upon the present security; but after all what does it amount to? Promises! promises as easily broke as they are made, promises guarantied by ministerial perfidy, by proverbial insincerity.

The noble lord upon the woollack is so highly offended with me, that he considers it ungentlemanlike to hint a doubt where the royal word has been pledged; my lords, we shall ever, I trust, consider that as the word of a minister; but were it as the noble lord would have it, I am not afraid to repeat it after my lord Strafford, upon such an occasion as this, nor ashamed, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in any child of man, for there is no help in them."—

My lords, admitting for a moment that there was a probability of an invasion, what is it we shall have to fear? It cannot be a loss of your liberties, it can only be a temporary deprivation of your property; think you, my lords, that any descent (for it can be no other while the British fleet ride triumphant) would cost this nation a million of money, the least expence of this augmentation in 40 years? so that you shall hereby suffer an equivalent, if not a worse, evil than that which you wish to avoid; one would imagine that Brutus in a letter to Atticus had prophetically described our present situation, *O magnam stultitiam, timoris id quod vereare ita cavere, ut cum vita re fortasse potueris ultro arcessas atque attrahas.*

My lords, I have heard this country called, in some old author, a forest for courtiers to hunt their prey in; henceforward, if this scheme should take place, let it also be called a nursery for soldiers; but before it does, while we yet breathe the air of freedom, I will raise my voice against it; and since what I can say will have but little efficacy, I will speak to you with the voice of the people:

We acknowledge the defenceless state of this country; but to what is it owing? Our ancestors have amply provided
for

for its defence; it is owing to drawing away our troops from this country to acquire and to maintain conquests in America and elsewhere. If indeed you would provide for the defence of this country, send us home our veteran troops; give us this earnest of your sincerity; but till then we shall be morally certain that the additional 3000 will be made use of as the 12000 were before. What is verbal security to us, to whom legal security has been so often defective?

Circumstanced as we are, cut off from trade and communication with the rest of the world, what are conquests to us? Unjustly deprived of those advantages that God and nature have so liberally bestowed upon us, what concern are they to this country? Only to render our situation more poor and insignificant as the rest of the British dominions encrease.—If you want support, if you would establish a nursery of soldiers in any of your dependent countries, turn your eyes to your empire in the east and in the west, there you will find the sinews of war, there you will find nations abounding with wealth and affluence, with liberty and power; but think not of support from us who are unable to support ourselves.

But if there should be an overruling necessity, if it should be decreed that the poorest part of the British dominions should contribute almost as much to the defence of the whole as the greatest; let it not be done in the time of peace and tranquillity; no, let it be reserved for the day of extremity, and then if we must perish, if fate and Britain decree it, let us at least have the honour of sacrificing ourselves for the benefit and advantage of the British dominions.

A CARD for the POLITICAL REGISTER.

COMPLIMENTS of congratulation are sent by a friend of the REVOLUTION, on the miscarriage of an attempt to repeal the militia-act—who takes this method to desire you to record the fact, that such an attempt was made—lest it should be omitted in the future memoirs of the great D—of G—, which will be of superior value in every Englishman's opinion, to the memoirs of the duke de Sully—That at a time when great part of the national troops usually stationed in Ireland were draughted off to alarm and insult the inhabitants of North America, and that kingdom was left without a sufficient force to protect it in case of domestic insurrections, or foreign surprize—And at a time when the m—y itself was loudly complaining of the seditious spirit

spirit and licentiousness of the times, in so much that they thought proper to procure motley addresses to the K— on that subject. It was thought advisable to attempt to deprive the kingdom of its natural strength, of the national safeguard and security of the inhabitants in case of internal commotions, proceeding either from the manoeuvres of the m——y, or of their opponents the majority of the people. In a word, to cut off a resource, which, in any great emergency of government—such as a sudden invasion without any previous declaration of war—may be made sufficient under an able and honest ministry for the defence of the state against all hostile attempts.

I could not but regard the report, when circulated in the papers, as a libel on the ad——n, consequently, I wished to hear that the printers were taken into custody, but I now find the affair was seriously proposed—perhaps from an apprehension, that the national militia, when embodied and called into the field, upon any extraordinary domestic event, might be found to comprize a great majority of supporters of the bill of rights, of the staunch friends in the cause of liberty, in fine, of enemies to despotic, oppressive m——l measures.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

MEMORANDUMS for the PROCURERS of ADDRESSES.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

BY the most strenuous application, you have prevailed with such cullings of the people, as either were immediately, or could by any means be brought under your influence, to address M——y upon the spirit of the free and independent gentlemen, clergy and freeholders of England, which you call, *turbulent*, riotous, and disloyal.

Be it remembered—that it is the noble ! the right honourable ! the graces ! and the great o—s of f—e among you, who appear most guilty of subverting the foundations of all order and harmony in the great community of which you are unworthy members. What is your spirit and behaviour, and that of your compeers ?—

Mem. It is a spirit of impious, licentious freedom, demonstrated in audacious violations of the first law of civil society. You are seen to act your beastly parts with impunity, you marry and divorce at pleasure, put on and cast off the harlot's robe at pleasure, and pension at will abandoned strumpets ; and in defiance of God and man proclaim aloud your *treason* to church and state, by an open violation, under the eye of a most pious prince, of the laws of God and of the land. You live in adultery and fornication, not secretly,

but avowedly, and you resemble in your vices,—*raging waves of the sea, foaming out your own shame*. Lost to all sense of the indecours of humanity, and the influence of example in society, you expose, in the face of the sun, your bodily prostitution: but I forgot your friend Col. L.—I says, you are the venerable, the respectable, the exemplary characters of the nation.

Item, if you would but turn your eyes inwards upon your own consciences, and once reflect that your scandalous debaucheries infect the whole kingdom, and that it is your riotous living that spreads disloyalty, and excites sedition in the people, you would be less industrious in blinding the eyes of m——y, by persuading your r—l m——r, that the safety of the throne is endangered by a people, who are only complaining of the oppressions they suffer under your administration; and you would take shame to yourselves as the capital enemies of the sovereign and of his faithful, loyal people.

Item, you have availed yourselves greatly of Wilkes's crimes; they hurt him in the opinion of sober minds, who know not what it is to riot in obscenities. You charge him with blasphemies; pray, sirs, what are yours, who live in constant whoredom? If the canon law forbids *fornication*, and if the scriptures declare that whoremongers and adulterers shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven, surely you deny all belief of a God, or at least all awe and reverence of him, by your *turbulent licentious freedoms*.

Item, you have contracted a vast arrear by the disregard you have shewn to the manufactures and commerce of this country at home and in the colonies, nor will the utmost efforts of all your influence, though you have a majority of betts in your favour, prevent your losing the game; even though the great gambler l—d W——h should stake coach and horses in the odds, believe me, the political cards will soon fall out of your hands.

For, lastly, be it remembered—that you are entirely disqualified to steer the helm of public affairs. The ministers of power, under our virtuous and gracious prince, should all be men *who fear God, and hate covetousness*. Civil power is prophaned, when it is not a terror to evil-doing, and a praise to well-doing. This alone sanctifies government, it is all the *jure divino* that can possibly belong to k—s. They then are the powers ordained of God! But when this end of government is prevented by profligate, prodigal, debauched servants of the crown, some of whom are even to be met with in our streets, reconnoitring, in the evening, *les filles de joye* in the neighbourhood of Temple-bar. Fie, fie, my lords and gentlemen! Look home, repent and reform. And then the turbulent, riotous spirit of the sons of liberty will subside, for it will not have any ground to work upon.

M E N T O R.
To

To the Editor of the POLITICAL REGISTER.
AN INSTANCE of Ministerial MERIT.

Rara avis in terris, &c.

S I R,

AT a time when a general dissatisfaction has spread itself throughout the kingdom with respect to the measures of public administration, and when the sons of liberty are alarmed at the evils which menace the constitution of this free country, justice should be done to the m——r; if he has any kind or degree of merit, let us not withhold from him all that is his due. I cannot but think some acknowledgment should be paid to him, when I read in the public papers, that C—t de V—y, the Envoy extraordinary from the K—g of S——a, is taking his leave of our court, after having been permitted to maintain a residence of twenty years; by means of which, he has had an opportunity of making every possible effort in favour of a prince, who avows a collateral claim to the crown of Great Britain, and by whose able ministrations and astonishing influence, not only the treaty was made at Paris, the most favourable that the catholic powers could possibly either have hoped for, or desired; but also from whose influence, popery has been so revived and alert in Britain, as openly to address, and even menace both king, lords, and commons—by boldly reproaching and vilifying the REFORMATION.*

Count de V—y's great abilities have been faithfully employed in his royal master's service, and in the cause of his church; but, as has been before observed, the permitting any minister from that court to reside here above three years, can never be good policy in a British ministry.—Consequently, his long abode reflects a charge of deplorable inattention in those who have been at the helm, for several years past. Nor could it be otherwise than an open insult on the eye of every thinking Briton, to have the S——n minister pensioned for his instrumentality in the late inglorious treaty of peace, as well as permitted to continue resident at a court so shamefully abused by that very treaty.

It is not to be doubted, he will be replaced by an envoy of able powers, every way qualified for a station of such vast importance to the house of S——a;—and as this most probably will be the case, it is to be hoped, a careful eye will be had upon him, and that his time of residence will become duly limited.

The connivance given by the k— of S——a to the French hostilities on the Corsicans, can only be accounted for, upon a plan of agreement between these two powers, not very favourable to the

* See an apology for the catholics, A. D. 1768.

house of Hanover. A man does not require any uncommon degree of discernment to discover that the acquiescence of S—a and the other Italian states, corresponds with the scheme of subversion, so manifestly provided for in the pacific Paris treaty.

It is extremely obvious, what difficulties the infatuators are under, and how much they presume upon the blindness of the people when they report, that the Russian empress is to have her capital at Constantinople, which will employ the powers in the late quadruple alliance, and find them attention enough to defend their own dominions!—Was the hand of father Phillips or Patsal in this gauzy shade drawn over the piece? Or was it any other of the college of oculists, whose profession it is to thicken the luminaries within the organ of vision, and prepare the people for the palpable darkness of popery?—You are left to guess as you can, by

A C E N T I N E L.

The Contest between G—r B—d and the Inhabitants of Boston, in New-England, seems to continue, without any Prospect of being brought to a happy issue, as appears by the following Proceedings.

Boston, Feb. 16th. At a Meeting of the Selectmen,

P R E S E N T,

Joshua Henshaw,	John Rowe,
Joseph Jackson,	Sam. Pemberton, Esqrs.
John Ruddock,	Mr. Henderson Inches.
Joseph Hancock,	

Voted unanimously, that the following Address be presented to his Excellency Francis Bernard, Esq,

May it please your Excellency,

AT a time when artful and mischievous men have so far prevailed, as to foment and spread divisions in the British Empire: When mutual confidence, which had so long subsisted, with mutual advantage between the subjects in Britain and America, is in a great measure broken: When means are at length found, even to excite the resentment of the mother state against her colonies, and they are publicly charged with being in a state of disobedience to law, and ready to resist the constitutional authority of the nation: The selectmen of this metropolis cannot be the unconcerned or silent spectators of the calamities which in consequence thereof have already fallen upon its inhabitants.

To behold this town surrounded with ships of war and military troops, even in a time of peace, quartered in its very bowels, exercising a discipline with all the severity which is used in a garrison, and in a state of actual war, is truly alarming to a free people. And what still heightens the misfortune is, that our gracious sovereign and his ministers have formed such an idea of the present state of the town, as to induce a necessity of this naval and military force for the aid of the civil magistrate in the preservation of its peace and good order.

Your Excellency can witness for the town, that no such aid is necessary: Loyalty to the sovereign, and an inflexible zeal for the support of his majesty's

majesty's authority and the happy constitution, is its just character; and we may appeal to the impartial world, that peace and order were better maintained in the town before it was even rumoured that his majesty's troops were to be quartered among us than they have been since. Such a measure then we are persuaded, would never have been ordered by the wisdom of the British administration, had not the necessity of it been drawn from the representations of some of his majesty's servants in this province.

Your excellency will allow us to express our opinion, that the public transactions of the town, and the behaviour of some of its individual inhabitants, have been greatly misapprehended by his majesty's ministers.

We therefore in duty to the town we have the honour to serve, respectfully wait on your excellency, and pray that you would be pleased to communicate to us such representations or facts only as you have judged proper to make since the commencement of the last year. And as there is a prevailing report that depositions are and have been taken *ex parte*, to the prejudice of the town and particular persons, may we not assure ourselves that your excellency will, in justice, cause to be laid before us such other representations as may have come to your knowledge; that the town knowing clearly and precisely what has been alledged against it, may have an opportunity of vindicating itself?

Attest. WILLIAM COOPER, Town-clerk.

The foregoing address was accordingly presented to his excellency by the selectmen of the town last Friday morning, and on Saturday afternoon his excellency was pleased to return the following answer:

Gentlemen,

THE propriety of your addressing me upon public business I shall not now dispute; but in my answer I shall confine myself to such parts of your address as relate to you as the selectmen, or to the town as a body.

I have no reason to think that the public transactions of this town have been misapprehended by his majesty or his ministers, or that their opinions thereon are founded upon any other accounts than those published by the town itself.

If therefore you can vindicate yourselves from such charges as may arise from your own publications, you will in my opinion have nothing further to apprehend.

Province House,
Feb. 18, 1769.

FRA. BERNARD.

Feb. 23, 1769. AT a Meeting of the Selectmen,

P R E S E N T,

Joshua Henshaw,	John Hancock,
Joseph Jackson,	Sam. Pemberton, Esqrs.
John Ruddock,	Mr. Henderson Inches.

Voted unanimously, that the following Address be presented to his Excellency Francis Bernard, Esq;

May it please your excellency,

THE selectmen of the town of Boston beg leave once more to wait on your excellency, hoping you will excuse this further trouble, as it is upon a matter of the greatest importance to the town.

In your answer to our late humble request, your excellency was pleased

to say, that " you have no reason to think that the public transactions of this town have been misapprehended by his majesty or his ministers ; or that their opinions thereon are founded upon any other accounts than those published by the town itself." And " that if we can vindicate ourselves from such charges as may arise from our own publications, we shall in your opinion have nothing further to apprehend."

As the town has published nothing but its own transactions, in town meeting legally assembled; it gives us the greatest pleasure to find your excellency, in your reply to us, thus vindicating it from any just cause of apprehension, from the general character of its inhabitants, considered as individuals: If therefore the town has suffered, on account of the disorders which happened on the 18th of March or the 10th of June last, by persons unknown, (the only disorders that have taken place in this town within the year past) we take your excellency's declaration to us, to be a full testimony, that in your opinion, it must be in consequence of some partial or false representations of those disorders to his majesty's ministers. And we rejoice to find your excellency's sentiments, as expressed in your reply, so far harmonizing with those of his majesty's council not long ago published. We have in this case, the most authentic evidence that can possibly be had, the joint testimony of the governor and council of the province, that the town has not been in a state of opposition to order and government, and such as required a military force to support civil authority.

With regard to the public transactions of the town, when legally assembled, from which alone in your excellency's declared opinion, the town could have any thing to apprehend, we beg leave to say; that after the most careful retrospect, and the best inquiry we could make, into the nature and import of those transactions, we are utterly at a loss in what view they can appear to have militated with any law, or the British constitution of government. And we entreat your excellency would condescend to point out to us, in what particular respect they either have been, or may be viewed in such a light; that either the town may be made sensible of the illegality of its proceedings, or that upon the most critical examination its innocence may appear in a still clearer light.

Your excellency's high station in the province, and the regard you have professed for the interest of the town, we humbly apprehend must give propriety to this as well as our former address.

Attest, WILLIAM COOPER, Town-clerk.

The foregoing address was accordingly presented to his excellency by the selectmen last Friday, when his excellency was pleased to return the following answer:

Gentlemen,-

AS in my answer to your former address I confined myself to you as selectmen and the town as a body, I did not mean to refer to the disorders on the 18th of March, or of the 10th of June, but to the transactions in the town meetings and the proceedings of the selectmen in consequence thereof.

Feb. 24, 1769.

FRA. BERNARD.

March 2, " In the Journal of occurrences published here, is the following article, dated Boston, February 5. " There has been much talk of

of an anonymous letter sent from hence to Lord Hillsborough, and by him remitted to governor Bernard: For some time the report was not credited, but now the fact is ascertained; governor Bernard has shewn the letter to some gentlemen, who waited on him last week, requesting a sight of it, but did not allow a copy of it to be taken. It speaks highly of governor Bernard, &c. but contains the most malignant insinuations against some respectable gentlemen in this town who are mentioned by name. It speaks of deep and dark designs carrying on notwithstanding the peaceable landing of the troops; of an alliance to be formed between Holland and some of the colonists in order to throw off the dependance of the latter upon Great Britain, at the first breaking out of a new war, and of 30,000 men between Boston and New-York ready to take up arms; it advises that some leading men should be inveigled over to Britain, and not sent there by force, lest this should make too much noise and occasion resistance." The Governor, it is said, declared that he made no account of the letter, and should make no account of it in his dispatches. Be this as it may, it is not astonishing, that a letter so palpably base and malicious, so extravagantly false, and without a name, should be so much noticed as to be returned to governor Bernard.

THE MONARCH IN MASQUERADE. A PARTHIAN TALE.

*No flatt'ry, boy, an honest man can't live by't,
It is a little sneaking art, which knows
Use to cajole, and soften fools withal.
If thou hast flatt'ry in thy nature—out with it,
Or send it to a court—for there 'twill thrive.*

OTWAY'S ORPH.

ANTIOCHUS, with hardy pace,
Provok'd the dangers of the chace,
And lost from all his menial train,
Travers'd the wood and pathless plain;
A cottage lodg'd the royal guest,
The Parthian clown brought forth his best;
The king, unknown, his feast enjoy'd,
And various chat the hours employ'd.
From wine what sudden friendship springs!
Frankly they talk'd of courts and kings.
We country-folk, the clown replies,
Could ope our gracious monarch's eyes;—
The king, as all our neighbours say,
Might he, God bless him, have his way,
Is found at heart, and means our good,
And he would do it, if he cou'd;
If truth in courts were not forbid,
Nor kings nor subjects would be rid;

Nec

Were he in power we need not doubt him,
 But that's transferr'd to those about him ;
 On them he throws the regal cares ;—
 And what mind they ? Their own affairs.
 If such rapacious hands he trust,
 The best of men may seem unjust.
 From kings to coblers 'tis the same ;
 Bad servants wound their master's fame,
 In this our neighbours all agree ;
 Would the king knew as much as we !
 Here he stopt short ;—repose they sought ;
 The peasant slept ;—the monarch thought.

The courtiers learnt at early dawn,
 Where their lost sov'reign was withdrawn ;
 The guard's approach our host alarms ;
 With gaudy coats the cottage swarms ;
 The crown and purple robes they bring,
 And prostrate fall before the king.
 The clown was call'd :—the royal guest
 By due reward his thanks exprest :

The king then turning to the crowd,
 Who fawningly before him bow'd ;
 Thus spoke :—since bent on private gain,
 Your counsels first misled my reign ;
 Taught and inform'd by you alone,
 No truth the royal ear hath known,
 Till here conversing.—Hence ye crew !
 For now I know myself and you.

The first Production of a Young Lady.

WHILE London and Middlesex jointly concur,
 The prime of their honours on Wilkes to confer.
 Tho' confined he's in goal by M——d's hard sentence,
 He's not as yet put on the stool of repentance.
 Go on therefore J—ff—s make his merit more known,
 While the slur of thy sentence is not his but thy own.

F R A G M E N T.

HAPPY ! had all our boasted patriots been
 Staunch to their country's cause, like Wilkes and
 Glynn,

Had with the same undaunted ardour burn'd
 Britain had ne'er her drooping freedom mourn'd—
 Oh ! catch in time their zeal, spread wide its fires,
 Ere the pure flame of liberty expires ;
 Let Middlesex, of counties first and best,
 By her example animate the rest.

Papers relative to the cause of John Wilkes, Esq; and the freeholders of Middlesex.

Henry Lawes Luttrell, Esq; Lieutenant-Colonel of a regiment of horse, having offered himself as a candidate to represent the county of Middlesex; Mr. Wilkes, upon this occasion, published the following address to the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of that respectable county.

GENTLEMEN,

SINCE an opposition to me has been declared by a ministerial gentleman, whose seat in parliament is purposely vacated by the acceptance of an insignificant place, without even the pretence of being solicited by some respectable freeholders, I find that the old artifices of starting another candidate is renewed with the hope of dividing you, and of drawing your attention from the real object of this struggle, which is between the electors of Great Britain, and the assumed power of administration. Several gentlemen, warm friends to the freedom of the subject, have been strongly solicited by the emissaries of this ministry to accept a seat in parliament by your means. They have not, however, been the dupes of this plan of deceit. They have spurned at the treacherous proposal. I rejoice that a perfect union of sentiment on this subject prevails in almost every part of the country. The question now is well understood to be, not who shall represent the county, but whether you the electors have the right of naming your own representative to parliament. I am sure you will never give up that right, nor quit the public ground on which you stand. It is of the highest importance to every elector in the kingdom, that after the late attempt to rob you of this right, it should be acknowledged and established. You have repeatedly and unanimously denied that any one part of the legislature could deprive you of your choice, and this in a manner the most obliging and honourable to me. If then another candidate could at this time by any means be brought into parliament for the county, the ministry would succeed in their attack, and you would appear to acquiesce in an illegal claim. You may now have the glory of bringing this national cause to a decision; of establishing the just claims of Englishmen on so solid a foundation, as never again to be shaken; of preventing the sacrifice of this essential right, and the making a fatal precedent against yourselves and your posterity.

GENTLEMEN,

The attention of the public is fixed on you, and the importance of the cause has spread a general anxiety for the event of next Thursday. I congratulate the people that the freeholders of Middlesex are called to stand forth, for I know your vigilance and undaunted spirit in the defence of our common liberty. May such efforts be crowned with the success they merit, and may we be the happy instruments of perpetuating the blessings of a free constitution to the latest inhabitant of the whole British empire. I am, Gentlemen, with true respect,

King's Bench-Prison,
Friday, April 7, 1769.

Your Faithful and
obliged humble servant,
JOHN WILKES.

The Assistance given to Mr. Wilkes, to enable him to support his Cause, by voluntary Subscription, appears in the following Advertisement.

SUPPORTERS OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS.

SIR JOSEPH MAWBAY, Bart. in the Chair.

ORDERED, That the sum of six hundred pounds be paid into the hands of Mr. Wilkes; and that Mr. Reynolds be desired to convey the same.

A false, malicious, and scandalous libel having appeared in the Gazette of the 8th instant, under the title of an address from the Gentlemen, Clergy, Traders, and principal Inhabitants of the City of Coventry, charging the Supporters of the Bill of Rights with being "the patrons, from whose lessons of sedition the meer instruments of our present confusions have been tempted to exhibit their improvements in the detestable science of licentiousness, even before the gates of the royal palace; and representing them as men for ever to be regarded as enemies to monarchy, subverters of all legal government, pretended guardians of the constitution, and real disturbers of its repose."

Resolved, That it would be unpardonable in this society, to pass over in silence so unmerited and infamous a charge (and that too published by Authority) conscious as they are that his Majesty has not subjects more loyal and faithful to his sacred person, more attached to his illustrious family, more devoted to our happy constitution, nor more zealous for the peace, prosperity, and liberty of the people.

And therefore Resolved, That a committee be appointed to take the aforesaid libel into consideration, and to report their opinion at the next general meeting to be held on Tuesday the 25th inst. when Sir FRANCIS BLAKE DELAVAL, KNT. OF THE BATH, will be in the Chair.

Subscriptions continue to be received at the following bankers; Sir Joseph Hankey and Partners, Fenchurch-street, number 7; Mess. Bolero and Co. Mansion-house street, - number 5; Mess. Lowry and Co. East corner of Lombard-street; Mess. Halliday and Co. Lombard-street; and at the meeting of the Society at the London Tavern.

By Order of the Society,
ROBERT MORRIS, Sec.

The following Addresses were made by L. Col. Luttrell.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Middlesex.

Gentlemen,

THE House of Commons having adjudged Mr. Wilkes incapable of being elected to serve in this present parliament; I presume to solicit your votes and interest, and to request your early attendance at Brentford in my favour on the 13th of April, when the election will come on. Permit me to assure you, that if I have the good fortune to be chosen the representative of this my native county, it shall be my earnest endeavour to merit so great an honour, and I hope to preserve your confidence and esteem, not by professions calculated only to mislead the judgment, or inflame the passions, but by a constant and honest discharge of my duty in parliament, approving myself a firm supporter of the rights of my constituents, a zealous promoter of their interests, and a real friend to the laws and constitution of my country.

I am,

Gentlemen, with great truth and respect,

Your most devoted humble servant,

HENRY LAWES LUTTRELL.

South Audley Street,
March 24.

To

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Middlesex.

Gentlemen,

THOUGH the near approach of the election obliges me to postpone the agreeable duty of paying my personal respects to every freeholder, yet the very generous and spirited encouragement I have received, fills me with the deepest sense of gratitude, especially as no art has been omitted, as no slander has been spared, to prejudice me in the opinion of the public. These attempts, however ineffectual as they are base, I have treated with silent contempt; their malevolence can only be equalled by their absurdity, and I feel some consolation in being placed on the roll of detraction,* with the most exemplary, the most venerable, and the most sacred characters of my country.

Had I on this occasion escaped the rage of my opponents, I should be apprehensive that I had hitherto mistaken their real principles. But indeed I do not wonder that they should affect a prodigious solicitude, for your privileges, when they want to monopolize the first county in England; nor do I wonder, when they terrify the freeholders from voting, that they triumphantly declaim on the unexampled unanimity of election; and yet perhaps a behaviour tolerably decent might be expected from men, professedly as averse to intimidation as to corruption; from men, whose glory it is to maintain the freedom of election, and whose incessant boast is an unalterable attachment to the constitutional rights of every individual of the community.

Was the calumny of my enemies directed solely against myself, I should be rather sensible of pleasure than uneasiness, even in the most malicious moments of their detraction: but I own I am deeply affected, that the profession of a soldier should be deemed incompatible with the duties of a good citizen; and when I hear it ungenerously asserted, that those whose lives are more immediately devoted to the service of their country, must be less worthy of confidence than their fellow subjects.

It is necessary for me to add, that my actions shall always correspond with my words, and on every occasion manifest an inflexible regard for your rights. The day of election is near at hand, and let every freeholder, whether he designs to honour me with his voice, or to favour the pretensions of my competitors, approach the hustings without apprehension, and fulfil the duty of an upright Englishman.

Every care will be taken to enforce the laws of the land, strengthened by the seasonable attention of parliament; I shall flatter myself, Gentlemen, with the pleasing expectation of meeting you early on Thursday next, prepared to testify, by your numerous appearance, a due regard to your own constitutional privileges, and an honest abhorrence of that licentiousness, which has but too long disturbed the tranquility of your country.

I am, Gentlemen,

With great truth and respect,
your most devoted humble servant,

HENRY LAWES LUTTRELL.

South Audley Street,

April 10.

* The slander Lieut. Colonel Luttrell complains of as having been intended to prejudice him in the opinion of the public, consists in the publications of several letters, in a news paper entitled, The Middlesex Journal, which passed between the Colonel and Dr. Kelly, a physician at Oxford; relative to the Colonel's having seduced an unhappy country girl, whom he left at Oxford in the Doctor's hands big with child, and extremely ill of the foul disease, as the consequence of her amour with him. The nurse who suckled the child, the mother being incapable, contracted the disease to a terrible degree, and these miserable objects were all left upon the Doctor's hands, under repeated promises from the Colonel of speedy payment of all charges, and full satisfaction for his trouble. At length wearied out with repeated ineffectual applications to the Colonel and to his father, Doctor Kelly found himself under a necessity of sending the child to the parish of St. Mary in Oxford, where it died; and to sue him for his demand, which was finally paid, after many evasions, such in particular as pleading minority to set aside a debt which honour and gratitude should have urged the debtor to discharge without hesitation.

The truth of the facts stated in the letters, is not attempted to be denied by the colonel or his friends, the publication of them indeed is complained of as a malevolent act; but an impartial public will easily excuse this, on recollection of the many scurrilous, abusive anecdotes, not all of them strictly true, that have been published, in order to prejudice Mr. Wilkes in the opinion of the public.

But Col. Luttrell says, he feels some consolation in being placed on the roll of detraction, with the most exemplary, the most venerable, and the most sacred characters of his country. Is it possible for a man to publish a more severe satire against his best friends---(the virtuous

B---e and M-----d excepted) his grace of G----, lord W-----h, lord B-----n, lord S-----t, and R-----y, Esq; are highly obliged to him, for the consolation he feels, in having his debaucheries placed with theirs on the roll of pious memoirs of these times. As to detraction and slander we always understood they meant the publication of falsehoods, not of genuine truth.

The Advertisement of David Roche, Esq; another Candidate for Middlesex, deserve to be recorded for their good Humour and Singularity.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders, of the County of Middlesex.

Gentlemen,

THE House of Commons not having adjudged me incapable of being elected to serve in the present parliament, I therefore presume to solicit your votes and interest, and to request your early attendance in my favour on the 13th of April, at Brentford, where free election should come on. Permit me to assure you, that if I have the good fortune to be seated in the Place of the representative of this county, it shall be my earnest endeavour to merit all the Honour I shall get by it; and I hope to preserve as much as I ever had of your confidence and esteem, not by my professions calculated only to mislead the judgment and inflame the passions, but by a constant and honest discharge of my duty in parliament, as far as may be consistent with my Duty in a military capacity, which is of itself sufficient to approve me a firm supporter of the civil rights of my constituents, a zealous promoter of their civil interests, and a real friend to the laws and civil constitution of my country.

I am, Gentlemen,

With great truth and respect,

Park-Street, Westminster,
April 4.

Your most devoted humble servant,
DAVID ROCHE.

To the Freeholders of the County of MIDDLESEX.

Gentlemen,

MY former advertisement must have sufficiently shewn that I do not mean to oppose Mr. Wilkes, or endeavour basely to wrest from him a title which the majority of freeholders alone can bestow. And yet, gentlemen, my application to you for some of your votes is serious. I have this day deposited one hundred pounds with the sheriffs for the huckings, &c. and shall cheerfully go through with any other expenses that may be necessary; happy if I can in any manner be an instrument to confirm your right of election, and be useful to the cause of your real representative, by preventing any improper petition.

I am, Gentlemen,

Park-Street, April
10, 1769.

Your most obedient humble servant,
DAVID ROCHE.

Account of the FOURTH Election of John Wilkes, Esq; at Brentford, as Knight of the Shire for the County of Middlesex.

Thursday, April 13, at half an hour past 9, the election came on at Brentford. The candidates were Mr. Wilkes, Mr. Luttrell, Mr. Roche, and Mr. Sergeant Whitaker.

After the writ and the act of parliament against bribery and corruption were read, and the sheriffs sworn, Mr. Sawbridge came forward on the huckings, and silence being demanded, addressed himself to the public in the following manner.

“ He said, he need not acquaint them that the affair in point was now a dispute between a-----n, and the freeholders of Middlesex, that since the former election, there was a meeting of the supporters of the bill of rights, wherein he had the honour to take the chair, and that it was resolved to support Mr. Wilkes's cause, as the cause of liberty, he hoped that they would now stand forth, as they had already done in such a cause, and shew to the whole world that nothing is capable of taking away their freedom, the glorious birthright of every Englishman, he therefore pressed this very seriously, as an object of their consideration; and concluded by hoping that the friends of Mr. Wilkes, would equally shew themselves friends to peace and good order.

Mr. Townsend then seconded Mr. Sawbridge, and spoke to this effect---
“ He said he need not recapitulate what the gentleman who spoke last had said;

as he was very sensible the doctrine of liberty was too well established in their hearts to need it. He observed that it had been rumoured that the friends of the other candidates would be prevented by Mr. Wilkes's friends from polling on this occasion; this, he was very sure, was only circulated by the tongue of malice; nor would he mention it, but as a caution to them to be particularly circumspect in their behaviour; as the more they were so, the more it would proclaim to the world the impartiality of their conduct, and freedom of their choice.--- He begged them above all things (as they respected their own consequence) to preserve peace and good order, which constituted the very spirit of liberty and independence. That it was full time enough to shew hostilities, when the laws and religion of this country were openly attacked and attempted to be wrested from them (which he hoped would never be the case) then it was only justifiable, and constituted the true character of an Englishman. Both these speeches were received with the loudest bursts of applause imaginable, and upon the holding up of hands, the majority (indeed it may be said the *totality*) were for Mr. Wilkes. At four in the afternoon the poll was closed, when the numbers stood as follows:

For Mr. Wilkes	- - -	1143
Mr. Luttrell	- - -	396
Mr. Whitaker	- - -	5
Mr. Roche	- - -	0

The last gentleman was nominated by Mr. Martin and Mr. Jones, but at 12 o'clock the sheriffs received a letter from Mr. Roche, declining being a candidate, not chusing to take the oaths necessary on the occasion. Soon after which he came on the hustings: There was not one person polled for either of the candidates after three o'clock.

The following curious accounts of the cavalcades and processions to Brentford may be depended on as authentic.

About eight o'clock in the morning, several great cavalcades of the freeholders of Middlesex, proceeded from the place of their rendezvous through the city, by St. Paul's, &c. One body, instead of going through St. Paul's Church-yard, went down Newgate-street, with an intent to call on Captain Allen; and two persons were dispatched to acquaint the captain of the intended compliment. The captain came down accordingly to the hatch of the little lodge fronting the street, when the freeholders paid their respects to him, by bowing and huzzaing, which the captain politely returned. Their music then striking up, and after playing some little time, they went down the Old Bailey into Fleet-street, on their way to Brentford. This body, which consisted of about 150, made a very fine appearance; it was preceded by a band of music, followed by three persons carrying three flags, one of the city arms, the other, badges of two of the societies of which Mr. Wilkes has been admitted a member; then followed the freeholders, about 150 of the most respectable, on horseback, four and four; and the procession was closed by a long train of coaches.

A grand cavalcade of the freeholders also set out from the prince of Orange, in Jermyn-street; before whom were carried six or seven flags, (on some of which were written bill of rights, and on others Magna Charta) all badges of the different societies of which Mr. Wilkes has been made a member during his confinement; to paint which, a number of persons had been for some time past employed by the friends of Mr. Wilkes.

One party, in their way to Brentford, stopped at St. James's, and their music began to play, but the guards immediately coming out, they proceeded directly on their way.

Another numerous cavalcade of freeholders, in the interest of Mr. Wilkes, preceded by music playing, and standards flying, on which were painted Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights, went in procession through the city to Brentford. In their way they stopped at the Royal Exchange, and called out for Mr. Dingley to go along with them as a candidate, but receiving no answer, they gave three huzzas,

buzzas, and proceeded to the Mansion-house, before which they drew up in form. Their music then played three times, after which three cheers were given, and then continued their route; amidst the acclamations of a vast concourse of people, who expressed their wishes that their choice this time might be final.

As Col. Luttrell, with a small party, was proceeding on horseback to Brentford, he was met at Hyde-park Corner by a mob, when a dispute by some accident arising, several of the people, it is said, were rode over, and that one person among them, a gentleman's servant, was struck a violent blow on the head with a stick. On the other side the people charged the colonel, and his party, in their turn, and pelted them so furiously with dirt, &c. that they drove some of them almost into the river, and put the whole party in such a manner to the route, that they rode dispersed over the field, and a few galloped off full speed for Brentford.

The grateful Acknowledgements of Mr. Wilkes to his Constituents are thus expressed.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy and Freeholders, of the County of Middlesex.

Gentlemen,

THE manly perseverance, with the calm, but undaunted spirit of your conduct, this day, in support of the freedom of election, has crowned the just expectations of the publick, and will for ever endear you to your countrymen. The honour I receive in being the fourth time elected your representative to the great council of the nation affects me in the most sensible manner. My gratitude shall appear in a way, worthy of such constituents, worthy of such a cause. Animated by your example, and warmed like you with the holy flame of freedom, I shall on every great occasion devote myself to the good of the people, and the preservation of public liberty. In this cause I will act under your auspices to the last moment of my life, fearless of danger in behalf of a nation, which knows the inestimable value of the fundamental rights and liberties of the body of the people, and has frequently cemented them with the blood of her heroic sons, of her truest patriots.

If any further violence should frustrate the effect of this day's proceedings, your steadiness, Gentlemen, in support of a free election, must, at last succeed. This kingdom is too jealous of its noble privileges, and is inspired with too active courage, to surrender that right to the present or any future administration, or meanly to acquiesce in being deprived of it. While the British constitution preserves its antient form or spirit, you will have always in the House of Commons a representative of your own voluntary choice. You have withstood the various attacks of a dangerous ministry, and the late vigorous defence of your just claims has rendered all their attempts fruitless. Every act of power and artifice of corruption have hitherto failed against your steady virtue. The same conduct regularly pursued, must, in the end, ensure your success. The privileges of our free nation will be restored and confirmed. You will be revered as the patrons of our rights, and every future age will pay to you the grateful tribute, that the Liberty of England in a most essential point was secured against the repeated attacks of ministerial despotism, by the perseverance, firmness, and fortitude of the Freeholders of Middlesex.

I shall always remain, Gentlemen,

King's Bench Prison,
Thursday Night, April 13.

Your grateful and obedient humble servant,

JOHN WILKES.

Colonel Luttrell's address to the freeholders of Middlesex, after having taken his seat for Middlesex, having given occasion to a variety of very severe but just criticisms, on that account we have given it a place in this work.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy and freeholders of the County of Middlesex.

Gentlemen,

WARMLY impressed with the goodness of my friends, I mean to return thanks in person to those who honoured me with their support and appearance at Brentford on the day of election; but I cannot defer this public and sincere acknowledgment of so signal a favor.

My grateful thanks are likewise due to such freeholders of Middlesex as were prevented, by an impression of repeated outrage, from carrying their good intention towards me into execution; and I must lament with them, that eleven hundred forty-three voters, out of
above

above four thousand, should arrogate a right of pronouncing the comprehensive sense of the county of Middlesex.†

You have, many of you, Gentlemen, endeavoured to rescue your county from dictation, and disorder, it shall be my unalterable study to promote its peace, honour, and prosperity.

I am, with the utmost respect,
South Audley-street,
April 18, 1769.

Your much obliged, and faithful humble servant,
H. L. LUTTRELL.

† One writer asks, if the freeholders have not greater reason to lament that 296 of his votes should be considered as the sense of the county? And another reprimands him for daring to treat so numerous a body of freeholders as 1143 with insolent contempt.

The following very sensible Address is thought worthy of Preservation.

To the FREEHOLDERS of ENGLAND in general, and those of the County of MIDDLESEX in particular.

Gentlemen,

THE contest between the Freeholders of Middlesex and the H---- of C----- is truly constitutional, it relates immediately to the rights of freeholders and the privileges of parliament. A question of such a nature, and of such importance, cannot be treated with too great a degree of seriousness and care. On the one side are the freeholders of the first county in England, and on the other no less a body than the H---- of C-----.

The freeholders of Middlesex think they have a right, as freeholders, to chuse whom they please to be their representative in parliament, not disqualified by law. The H---- of C----- think they have a right to expell from their body any person (though not disqualified by law) who appears to them unworthy a seat in that House.

This I take to be the true, the exact point of difference between the freeholders of Middlesex and the H---- of C----- . I will not suppose any thing to the disadvantage of either side. I will not suppose either to be factious and seditious, or either to be venal and corrupt. I will suppose each side to be influenced only by good motives, and to be actuated only by right views. The freeholders in pursuit of their rights, and the commons in support of their privileges, and for a moment that they are alike open to conviction.

I only wish I were better qualified to write on this point than I am. I think it however my duty to give my opinion on it, and to give it with all the clearness and perspicuity I am able.

Were the H---- of C----- a *voluntary* society, a society which formed itself, it could not admit a doubt but that, like all other such societies, they would have a right to receive or expell just whom they pleased; but this is not the constitution of the H---- of C-----, the H---- of C----- is not a voluntary society whose powers are derived from itself, it is an elected society only, and invested only with a delegated power. The question then is from whence or from whom do the H---- of C----- derive to themselves the privilege of expelling the member they disapprove? They do not derive it from themselves, for they are not a voluntary society. If they be possessed of this privilege it must have been delegated to them; but who ever delegated to them such a power? Did the freeholders of York ever delegate to their representatives a right of sitting in judgment upon the just and legal return of the county of Devon?

Suppose all the freeholders in the kingdom, except those of a single county, to be of opinion that A. B. is not worthy of a seat in parliament, but that the freeholders of one county are of opinion that he is, I should be glad to know whether the freeholders of that county ever delegated to the other freeholders any right or power to put a negative upon their choice? It is absurd to suppose that such a power

power could ever be delegated, or that it ever could exist; and if such a power does not exist, even in the freeholders themselves, much less can it ever exist with those whose power is derived only from their delegation.

It appears to me that the right of the people to chuse their representatives, and the right of the crown to create peers, are very similar. The crown may create any Englishman, being a protestant, and taking the oaths prescribed by law, a peer of the realm, and delegate to him a right to a seat and vote in the House of Lords: And the people legally intitled to vote, may chuse any man to be their representative in parliament who is duly qualified according to law.

Were a peerage to be conferred on a papist, or one who refuses to take the oaths which the law requires, the lords would be justified in refusing to admit him to a seat in their house; but if no legal objection can be urged against him, the lords I apprehend have no right to urge any other, but must admit him.

In like manner were the freeholders of any county to chuse a person to be their representative in parliament, not qualified according to law, the commons in that case certainly have a right to reject him, or rather they have no right to admit him among them; but if the freeholders chuse a person properly qualified according to law, let his private or general character be what it will, I apprehend the C----- have no more right to refuse him his seat in their house, than the lords have to refuse a peer his seat in theirs.

The king only, by the constitution and laws of England, can delegate a right to a seat in the House of Lords, the people only to a seat in the House of Commons: And supposing no legal incapacity belonging either to the new created peer or the new elected burgess or knight of the shire, I do apprehend neither the L----- or C----- have, from the constitution, the least right to object to the choice, and much less to set it aside.

I may indeed be mistaken in this opinion, but if they have such a right, it then follows the king cannot create a peer, nor the people chuse their own representatives.

Proceedings of the Assembly of the Freeholders of Middlesex, held at the Milk-End Assembly Room, on Monday, April 17, 1769.

THE freeholders of Middlesex met as by adjournment, to the number of eight hundred, and upwards. The chair was filled about 12 o'clock at noon, by Mr. Sawbridge, who, in a few words, having signified, that the reason of their being called together, was to consider of ways and means to seek for redress against the invaders of their right of election; he submitted to them to consider and propose what the law and constitution would enable them to do, to prevent the fatal consequences of their yielding to the methods that have been taken, to set aside a representative duly chosen by the legal electors of any county or place.

Then James Townshend, Esq; member for Westlote in Cornwall, in a very elegant and animated speech, deplored the necessity of seeking out some new remedy for a new grievance: A grievance which till this period no king, no minister, no enemy, no power on earth had ever laid upon this kingdom since it received the name of England.

With the greatest force and conviction from law, history, and the natural rights of mankind, he asserted the privileges of representation to the people. He declared himself ready to run every risque and to undergo every suffering to preserve this invaluable blessing to his countrymen, and that he would never tamely submit to offer up his liberty at the shrine of any minister or earthly potentate or power.

Having recapitulated the measures that a-----n had taken from time to time to make the Middlesex election abortive, and mentioned some other grievances and apprehensions that he thinks subsist, and threaten not only Middlesex, but the whole nation, if not redressed and removed by a vigorous exertion of the people's natural right.---After divers observations on Mr. W.'s fourth expulsion, he referred them to the case of the electors of Aylesbury, and the House of Commons, in Queen Anne's reign, when the queen was obliged to dissolve the parliament---concluding with his earnest desire to preserve the peace of the kingdom; but remarked, that if peace could not be maintained without giving up his freedom, he was ready to defend himself and his fellow-subjects, against all that dare attempt to make them slaves. He then made a motion to appoint a committee of 200 freeholders to

to consider of, and prepare such measures as they should think most effectual for the freeholders to take for obtaining the redress of their grievances, and for fixing on a plan that might serve to confirm to us the rights (if there are any) that still remain unviolated; and to recover those which have been violently and unjustly wrested from us, especially that important leading right on which all others depend,---the right of election.

The Rev. Mr. Horne then stood up, and, after repeating the epithets he had bestowed on the *Anti-Wilkes*, and allowing that he had been censured for his plainness of speech the last meeting at Mile-End, he declared that, after a month's recollection, he could not charge himself with any impropriety in what he then advanced; but, on the contrary, that he was more and more convinced, that some persons were grown worse than he could find words to describe; and, for his own part, he would rather see his black coat died red, than live to see slavery introduced by such means. He said much more of the present meeting; then seconded Mr. Townshend's motion for a committee of *Centum virorum*, that will shew their loyalty to the ****, by endeavouring to remove some counsellors from before his eyes, and seek redress of the grievances now complained of with all their might. He also proposed, that the said committee shall be styled a *Committee of Grievances and Apprehensions*, which being proposed by the chairman, was agreed to after some debate.

----- Adair, Esq; ----- Bellas, Esq; and many others spoke in support of the following motions, which were likewise carried

I. That the committee consist of one hundred freeholders.

II. That Walpole Eyre, Esq; be chairman of the said committee.

III. That George Bellas, Esq; be deputy-chairman.

IV. That the future meetings of the committee and of the county, be called by advertisement in the public papers, signed by the chairman or deputy-chairman.

The thanks of the county were then unanimously ordered to be returned to the sheriffs of this county, for having acted according to law, and discharged their duty with honour and firmness.

Thanks were likewise returned separately to Mr. Sawbridge, Mr. Townshend, and Mr. Horne, for their able, active and spirited conduct.

The meeting was then adjourned.

On Thursday the 27th of April at eleven o'clock there was a general meeting of the freeholders of the county of Middlesex, at the assembly-room, Mill-end, in order to hear the reports of the COMMITTEE OF GRIEVANCES AND APPREHENSIONS, which they had appointed last meeting, in order to draw up an address of the same.---About twelve o'clock Mr. Sawbridge came forward, and told the freeholders, that he thought it was his duty to acquaint them what occasioned the delay. He then informed them, "that there were so many articles found necessary to insert, that it was very late last night before the rough draught was finished, and that it was now engrossing by Mr. Martin, and expected immediately."---About half an hour elapsed before any thing else was done, when Mr. Adair (to prevent any of the freeholders from going away without hearing the address read, and signing their names) told them, "that nothing should have prevented them from being punctual to the very hour, but the many particulars that were found necessary to be mentioned, and that it was past one o'clock in the morning before they broke up."---Mr. Bellas, the deputy chairman, corroborated what Mr. Adair said, and added, "that Mr. Eyre, the chairman, being indisposed, he, as deputy, attended to read to them the address, and which he assured them was minutely and sedulously attended to, and was agreed *nem. con.* and which, he hoped, when read to that assembly, would meet with equal approbation."---A quarter of an hour after Mr. Martin arrived with the address, and was received with the loudest acclamations of applause.---The deputy chairman then read it, which consisted of a large skin of parchment, closely written, and contained a minute detail of all those grievances which the freeholders imagine to have received from a-----, from their commencement to the present time.

After the address was read, Mr. Adair asked whether it was agreed to by the freeholders, which was assented to by a general holding up of hands, as well as reiterated shouts of applause. Mr. Townshend then said, that as Mr. serjeant Glynn was principally concerned in attending on this important affair, and being likewise their member, he offered it to their consideration whether he was not the properest person to forward it.

Mr. Sawbridge then seconded Mr. Townshend in his request of peace and good order on that day; and the question being put by Mr. Adair, "Whether Mr. serjeant Glynn should be the person to present the address?" It was unanimously agreed to.

The thanks of the meeting were then given to Walpole Eyre, Esq; chairman, and George Bellas, Esq; deputy chairman of the committee, to John Sawbridge, and James Townshend, Esqrs. for the part they had taken in this business, and to Mr. Horne, for his great trouble, care, and judgment in drawing up and preparing the petition, and to the rest of the committee.

It was then resolved that John Glynn, Esq; Walpole Eyre, Esq; George Bellas, Esq; James Adair, Esq; John Sawbridge, Esq; James Townshend, Esq; The rev. Dr. Wilson, George Prescott, Esq; Arnold Wallinger, Esq; and Francis Aycough, Esq; be desired to wait upon his majesty with the said petition.

Mr. Townshend desired that it might be understood that no other freeholder should attend the delivering of this petition; because it might give a pretence to administration to play their old game, and misrepresent to his majesty an act of their innocent curiosity, as tumult, insurrection and open rebellion.

The petition was then signed by upwards of five hundred freeholders, many others finding it difficult to get to the table, reserved themselves for another opportunity.

The letters which have been written by the masterly pen of Junius, having excited the curiosity and engaged the attention of the admirers of elegant diction, we cannot but congratulate the public on finding that this celebrated writer appears to be a sound reasoner on political facts, which he likewise states with great precision and impartiality. It is observable, that not one of his numerous opponents have been able flatly to contradict any anecdote he has given to the world, or to overthrow his reasoning on public affairs. But the writers who have stood forth to corroborate his facts and justify his remarks, have given such further vouchers of his truth and impartiality, that his credit must be thereby firmly established with the public. Of this nature is the following address, on a subject of national concern, the management of the a--y, a topic which gave rise to the controversy between Junius and Sir William Draper.

To the Most Noble the M----- of -----.

My Lord,

I Congratulate you on the success of your chase after Junius:-----What a wretched pack you have! and it seems that instead of mounting your nag, and following them, you employ yourself in nothing but stopping the earths. This is the sure method of being thrown out.

Come, I'll save your future trouble on that scent. The person whom you seek is out of your power. The only chance you have of getting the better of him is to put yourself on an equality with him; quit your employments; you can never overcome him in any other way, for his very dreams have more depth, consistence and meaning, than your waking thoughts, and those of all your cabal put together.

Sir William Draper might have found opportunities enough of exposing his person, without using it as a shield to receive and ward off the blows that were meant for you; and Mr. Titus may lament for some time longer that "such abilities are not employed in the service of the public.---The rest are beneath any notice at all.

But let them, singly or in chorus, say what they will, and use vain suggestions of Junius's motives for writing, or draw imaginary characters of him, instead of answering directly his assertions, they will not be able to divert the attention of the world from its proper object. Such elegance of expression, such solidity of judgment, such beautiful pictures, such sublime conceptions, are not the overflowings of revenge, or disappointed ambition: 'Twas not faction certainly that roused him, for you are too inconsiderable to attract his attention; 'tis not envy, for who would wish to be what you are? No, 'twas the love of his country urged him to write, Justice herself animated his reflections, and truth harmonized his diction.

His masterly hand could never be more advantageously employed for the public weal, than in averting those evils, which your continuance to act as you have done, and do now, must of course bring upon it. His was no personal attack on lord -----,--if it had, he would have used burlesque alone; it was the dissolute, ignorant, evasive c-----r in C-----f, he meant to expose, and which was of the most serious nature. He knew that in this free country every private man hath a right to associate with whom he pleases, and pursue his inclinations without molestation; that even vices which the law doth not prohibit are sacred;---so might your's have been, had not the hungry cries of your parasites sent you roaming for food for them---had not the mist of flattery blinded your eyes, though there is no great reason to have a high opinion of your discernment, surely you could not but have perceived

perceived that the beast that draws, and the man that holds the reins, are very different in their nature; that though you had the qualification of the first, strength of body, and tameness to those that fed you, you could not either boast of a steady hand, or ever acquire the skill and attention requisite for the latter.

Had you thus reflected, you might have lived at your ease, forgotten and unnoticed,--- save when your presence was necessary at the b----d of Ord----e to divide the cash, or sanctify some new-fangled job. You might have hunted all the day, and have been drunk all the night; the voice of gallant truth, or the cry of oppression, would scarce ever have reached your ear,---In London the B----d would, for their own sake, have drowned it, and the good cheer at B----r would have engaged the slumbering parson and the cackling attorney in your favour; there the depredations of you and your crew, the industrious farmer's grain destroyed, his fences overturned, his and his family's peace of mind wrested from them, their wives and daughters debauched, would have been justified by those quacks in both upon the principles of religion and law; a few guineas now and then dispersed amongst the meanest and idlest of the rabble would have secured to you their hussas whereforever you went; your tales of blood would have terrified the gaping and astonished 'squire into obedience; and you might have stuck up for a few years---a scarecrow to decency, good faith, virtue, and religion.

But now, my l---d, the case is changed; for what a private man may do with impunity, a public one is criminal in, and accountable for.

You have fundered yourself into the hands of justice, and must take your trial before a jury of the public, and a judge who makes virtue and the laws his only guide, though under the most provoking circumstances, as daily experience evinces, who will, we need not fear, pronounce that just sentence, which his abused authority, and the complaints of an injured people; tall aloud for.

I wish it could be disproved, but, alas! 'tis too true, pale want and misery stalk through the land; the ingenious artisan, the robust countryman, the worn-out veteran, from need and desperation, engage in fruitless and dangerous tumults, as their last efforts for bread,---since virtue and vice have lost their distinctions---since the road to honour and wealth is no longer open to the former, the latter is no longer depressed and discouraged. Not long since I saw one who had been a brave, active, and vigilant officer, looking up with languishing eyes, which hunger and despair had almost extinguished, on one of those dregs of mankind, which your hand hath raised to a gilded equipage and lofty palace---With what a supercilious, yet timid leer the vermin regarded him! He had not courage enough to carry his insult so far as to relieve his pressing necessities. Such men as these fill are your companions and bosom friends; they bask in the sunshine of favour, and riot securely on the purloined treasures of exhausted Britain. Their voice disposes of commissions to men like themselves, while many of those to whom this country owes its conquests, riches, and power, and you that vapour of glory that once glimmered around you, perish for want. Whatever may be the consequence of their despair in these unsettled times, you are answerable for it: You raised their expectations, you aggravated their miseries; thrice did you promise solemnly to lay their case before the L-----e,---thrice did you deceive them.

Honour hath hitherto prevented them from seeking the shortest way of feeding themselves and their families. But when the fountain of honour pours forth a stream contaminated with quibbling and broken faith, who will prize its waters? Men will quench their thirst at more easily accessible springs. Had not you thrown its wealth to be scrambled for by the lowest rabble, this country would have found no difficulty in rewarding its faithful servants. You have not only ruined the finances of this kingdom, put its laws and constitution in danger, by alienating its best friends; but broke asunder the strongest bands of general society, by destroying mutual faith and confidence. This, all this has been done by the honest -----: He smiled in our faces, and picked our pockets.

I know your excuse about the H----f P----y before you make it, "I was afraid of opening a door to more applications of the same sort; besides there's the *soldiers*---" (mean attempt at popularity!) and I was not able to carry it in P-----." If you think a whole thing is necessary, is that a reason for doing no part? If I cannot get ail, I'll give up all (an excellent principle for a G-----l.) But why, if you never meant to do it, did you prostitute your h-----?

No one believed such a thing as you could influence or direct the deliberations of so wise and respectable a body as the B-----h L-----. All they wanted was for you to have authenticated their petition, as really coming from those persons it set forth. It was on the justice and humanity of their country, not your weight, they depended.

You have not only denied them the means of procuring it, but have taken away from them the foot itself.

Innumerable taxes, the consequence of the German war, have taken possession of all the necessities of life: Ah! where shall we find a balm to heal the cankering wound Great Britain received in Germany? To whom are we obliged for it? To your L-----p. The disposition of that treasure that was wantonly prodigal'd: The police of that army which ruined or sacked every plain or town it approached was vested in you alone; and you not only reined the poor inhabitants past redemption, (for which good-natured Britain paid a large indemnification, that they never got) but deprived us of the assistance so rich and fertile a country fairly treated would have afforded.

For half what you have done the great duke of Marlborough was overturned, and his character blighted. He was a statesman and politician, had greatly served his country; his word was sacred; he was a *Man of Honour*, and the close companion of kings and emperors, the reverence of his own times, and admiration of after ones.

What are you then that you shall escape; shall words quibble you off; and is not an irredeemable loan and a present the same in substance? But this is certain, that whether it was from avarice or negligence, the country has been scandalously plundered; and he that possesses either of those qualities is unfit ever to be trusted with its concerns.

"You have not enough left to repay us five shillings per cent. of the wealth we have been robbed of, or I might immediately disclose all I know. Therefore as I wish you no personal ill, but merely to prevent your doing any further mischief, I shall not, unless provoked to it, lay the proofs I am in possession of before the public. I have one piece of advice however, to give you on that score; which is, since nobody will trust you, take care whom you trust. A word to the wife, (I blunder, I mean to you) is enough. Now enjoy all day your perplexities, and the excruciating reflection of your conscience. At night the murdered reputations of George the S-----d, P-----t, and prince F-----d shall hover round thy couch. Pale Britannia herself, poisoned by the medicines thy hostile and bungling hand hath mixed up for her, shall yell in chilling accents, "Let me sit heavy on thy soul."

G---V---R S---

Letters from Junius to his Grace the D----- of -----.

L E T T E R. I.

My LORD,

I HAVE so good an opinion of your grace's discernment, that when the author of the vindication of your conduct assures us that he writes from his own mere motion, without the least authority from your grace, I should be ready enough to believe him, but for one fatal mark, which seems to be fixed upon every measure, in which either your personal or your political character is concerned. Your first attempt to support Sir William Proflor, ended in the election of Mr. Wilkes; the second ensured success to Mr. Glynn. The extraordinary step you took to make Sir James Lowther lord paramount of Cumberland has ruined his interest in that county for ever. The house list of directors was cursed with the concurrence of government; and even the miserable D-----y could not escape the misfortune of your grace's protection. With this uniform experience before us, we are authorised to suspect, that when a pretended vindication of your principles and conduct in reality contains the bitterest reflections upon both, it could not have been written without your immediate direction and assistance. The author indeed calls God to witness for him, with all the sincerity, and in the very terms of an Irish evidence, *to the best of his knowledge and belief*. My lord, you should not encourage these appeals to heaven. The pious prince, from whom you are supposed to descend, made such frequent use of them in his public declarations, that at last the people also found it necessary to appeal to heaven in their turn. Your administration has driven us into circumstances of equal distress;—beware at least how you remind us of the remedy.

You

You have already much to answer for. You have provoked this unhappy gentleman to play the fool once more in public life, in spite of his years and infirmities, and to shew us that, as you yourself are a singular instance of youth without spirit, the man, who defends you, is a no less remarkable example of age without the benefit of experience. * To follow such a writer minutely would, like his own periods, be a labour without end. The subject too has been already discussed, and is sufficiently understood. I cannot help observing however that, when the pardon of Macquirk was the principal charge against you, it would have been but a decent complement to your grace's understanding, to have defended you upon your own principles. What credit does a man deserve, who tells us plainly that the facts set forth in the king's proclamation were not the true motives on which the pardon was granted, and that he wishes that those chirurgical reports, which first gave occasion to certain doubts in the royal breast, had not been laid before his majesty. You see, my lord, that even your friends cannot defend your actions without changing your principles, nor justify a deliberate measure of government without contradicting the main assertion on which it was founded.

The conviction of Macquirk had reduced you to a dilemma, in which it was hardly possible for you to reconcile your political interest with your duty. You were obliged either to abandon an active useful partisan, or to protect a felon from public justice. With your usual spirit, you preferred your interest to every other consideration; and with your usual judgment, you founded your determination upon the only motives, which should not have been given to the public.

I have frequently censured Mr. Wilkes's conduct, yet your advocate reproaches me with having devoted myself to the service of sedition. Your grace can best inform us, for which of Mr. Wilkes's good qualities you first honoured him with your friendship, or how long it was before

* The author of *The vindication of the D— of G—*, having been warmly defended by an anonymous writer in the Public Advertiser, signing himself *a volunteer in the government's service*. Junius soon after, published in the same paper a letter addressed to Mr. Edward Weston, writer of the London gazette, as the supposed author of the vindication of the D— of G—, and of the letters in defence of it, signed *a volunteer*; this has produced an altercation in the same news-paper between Junius, and the volunteer, but as the subject of the dispute is not of national importance, and the field of contest is likely to be enlarged, by writers on both sides, it will be impossible to insert in this work, all the collateral branches of the dispute between Junius and his adversaries. We shall therefore only preserve such letters of Junius, as are written on the general affairs of the nation and the administration of government; but this one thing however we must not omit, that Junius has declared that he is neither a partisan of Mr. Wilkes, nor yet bought of by the ministry (as was supposed by his adversaries because he was for some time silent) it is true, *says he*, I have refused offers, which a more prudent or a more interested man would have accepted.—My rank and fortune place me above a common bribe;—and *I am in earnest*, because I am convinced, as far as my understanding is capable of judging, that the present ministry are driving this country to destruction.

you

you discovered those bad ones in him, at which it seems your delicacy was offended. Remember, my lord, that you continued your connection with Mr. Wilkes long after he had been convicted of those crimes, which you have since taken pains to represent in the blackest colours of blasphemy and treason. How unlucky is it that the first instance you have given us of a scrupulous regard to decorum is united with the breach of a moral obligation! for my own part, my lord, I am proud to affirm, that, if I had been weak enough to form such a friendship, I would never have been base enough to betray it. But let Mr. Wilkes's character be what it may, this at least is certain, that, circumstanced as he is with regard to the public, even his vices plead for him. The people of England have too much discernment to suffer your grace to take advantage of the failings of a private character to establish a precedent, by which the public liberty is affected, and which you may hereafter, with equal ease and satisfaction, employ to the ruin of the best men in the kingdom. Content yourself, my lord, with the many advantages, which the unfulfilled purity of your own character has given you over your unhappy deserted friend. Avail yourself of all the unforgiving piety of the court you live in, and bless God that you are not as other men are; extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this publican. In a heart void of feeling, the laws of honour and good faith may be violated with impunity, and there you may safely indulge your genius. But the laws of England shall not be violated, even by your holy zeal to oppress a sinner; and though you have succeeded in making him the tool, you shall not make him the victim of your ambition.

JUNIUS.

LETTER II.

My Lord,

THE system you seemed to have adopted, when lord C---m unexpectedly left you at the head of affairs, gave us no promise of that uncommon exertion of vigour, which has since illustrated your character and distinguished your administration. Far from discovering a spirit bold enough to invade the first rights of the people, and the first principles of the constitution, you were scrupulous of exercising even those powers, with which the executive branch of the legislature is legally invested. We have not yet forgotten how long Mr. Wilkes was suffered to appear at large, nor how long he was at liberty to canvass for the city and county, with all the terrors of an outlawry hanging over him. Our gracious sovereign has not yet forgotten the extraordinary care you took of his dignity and of the safety of his person, when, at a crisis which courtiers affected to call alarming, you left the metropolis exposed for two nights together, to every species of riot and disorder. The security of the royal residence from insult was then sufficiently provided for in Mr C---w---y's firmness and lord W---th's discretion; while the prime minister of Great Britain, in a rural retirement and in the arms of faded beauty, had lost all memory of his sovereign, his country, and himself. In these instances you might have acted with vigour for you would have had the sanction of the laws to support you. The friends of government might have defended you without shame, and moderate men, who wish well to the peace and good order of society, might have had a pretence for applauding your conduct. But these it seems were not occasions worthy of your grace's interposition. You reserved the proofs of your intrepid spirit for trials of greater hazard and importance; and now, as if the most disgraceful relaxation of the executive authority had given you a claim of credit to indulge in excesses still more dangerous, you seem determined to compensate amply for your former negligence; and to balance the non-execution of the laws with a breach of the constitution. From one extreme you suddenly start to the other, without leaving, between the weakness and the fury of the passions, one moment's interval for the firmness of the understanding,

These observations, general as they are, might easily be extended into a faithful history of your grace's administration, and perhaps may be the employment of a future hour. But the business of the present moment will not suffer me to look back to a series of events, which cease to be interesting or important, because they are succeeded by a measure so singularly daring, that it excites all our attention and engrosses all our resentment.

Your patronage of Mr. Luttrell has been crowned with success. With this precedent before you, with the principles on which it was established, and with a future house of commons perhaps less virtuous than the present, every county in England, under the auspices of the treasury, may be represented as completely as the county of Middlesex. Posterity will be indebted to your grace for not contenting yourself with a temporary expedient, but entailing upon them the immediate blessings of your administration. Boroughs were already too much at the mercy of government. Counties could neither be purchased nor intimidated. But their solemn determined election may be rejected, and the man they detest may be appointed, by another choice, to represent them in parliament. Yet it is admitted that the sheriffs obeyed the laws and performed their duty. The return they made must have been legal and valid, or undoubtedly they would have been censured for making it. With every good-natured allowance for your grace's youth and inexperience, there are some things which you cannot but know. You cannot but know that the right of the freeholders to adhere to their choice (even supposing it improperly exerted) was as clear and indisputable as that of the house of commons to exclude one of their own members;---nor is it possible for you not to see the wide distance there is between the negative power of rejecting one man, and the positive power of appointing another. The right of expulsion, in the most favourable sense, is no more than the custom of parliament. The right of election is the very essence of the constitution. To violate that right, and much more to transfer it to any other set of men, is a step, leading immediately to the dissolution of all government. So far forth as it operates, it constitutes a house of commons, which does not represent the people. A house of commons so formed would involve a contradiction and the grossest confusion of ideas; but there some ministers, my lord, whose views can only be answered by reconciling absurdities, and making the same proposition, which is false and absurd in argument, true in fact.

This measure, my lord, is however attended with one consequence favourable to the people, which I am persuaded you did not foresee. While the contest lay between the ministry and Mr. Wilkes, his situation and private character gave you advantages over him, which common candour, if not the memory of your former friendship, should have forbidden you to make use of. To religious men you had an opportunity of exaggerating the irregularities of his past life;---to moderate men you held forth the pernicious consequences of faction. Men, who with this character looked no farther than to the object before them were not dissatisfied at seeing Mr. Wilkes excluded from parliament. You have now taken care to shift the question; or rather you have created a new one, in which Mr. Wilkes is no more concerned than any other English gentleman. You have united this country against you in one grand constitutional point on the decision of which our existence as a free people, absolutely depends. You have asserted, not in words but in fact, that representation in parliament does not depend upon the choice of the freeholders. If such a case can possibly happen once, it may happen frequently; it may happen always;---and if three hundred votes, by any mode of reasoning whatsoever, can prevail against twelve hundred, the same reasoning would equally have given Mr. Luttrell his seat with ten votes, or even with one. The consequences of this attack upon the constitution are too plain and palpable not to alarm the dullest apprehension. I trust you will find that the people of England are neither deficient in spirit nor understanding, though you have treated them, as if they had neither sense to feel nor spirit to resent. We have reason to thank God and our ancestors that there never yet was a minister in this country who could stand the issue of such a conflict; and, with every prejudice in favour of your intentions, I see no such abilities in your grace, as should entitle you to succeed in an enterprize, in which the ablest and basest of

your predecessors have found their destruction. You may continue to deceive your gracious master with false representations of the temper and condition of his subjects. You may command a venal vote, because it is the common established appendage of your office: But never hope that the freeholders will make a tame surrender of their rights, or that an English army will join with you in overturning the liberties of their country. They know that their first duty, as citizens, is paramount to all subsequent engagements, nor will they prefer the discipline or even the honours of their profession to those sacred original rights, which belonged to them before they were soldiers, and which they claim and possess as the birthrights of Englishmen.

Return, my lord, before it be too late, to that easy insipid system, which you first set out with. Take back your mistress; ---the name of friend may be fatal to her, for it leads to treachery and persecution. Indulge the people. Attend Newmarket. Mr. Luttrell may again vacate his seat; and Mr. Wilkes, if not persecuted, would soon be forgotten. To be weak and inactive is safer than to be daring and criminal; and wide is the distance between a riot of the populace and a convulsion of the whole kingdom. You may live to make the experiment, but no honest man can wish you should survive it,

J U N I U S.

On the Pamphlet intituled The Present State of the Nation.

Q UOTH L1—d, one day, to trusty K—x,
 To do your work completely,
 Materials take from yonder box,
 Prepar'd by me and W——ly.
 With figures prove each doubtful fact,
 These you may take at random;
 For calculations *most* attract
 Those who *least* understand them.
 Safely thou may'st assert and lie;
 For who will dare to answer?
 D——el and B—— will not reply:
 They court the great financier.
 So said, so done—the *State* appears
 Of this poor ruin'd *Nation*:
 O how it charm'd great Choiseul's ears
 With Britain's desolation!
 Not so felt B——, —his pen he took,
 With deepest gall imbitter'd;
 And surely never was a book
 So answer'd, and so fritter'd.
 Well hast thou answer'd, witty B——!
 What K—x ill-fated sent forth;
 But yet remains a harder work
 To raise thy fav'rite W—worth.
 Who to reject amongst the *Out*,
 Needs little penetration;
 Who to prefer—aye, there's a doubt
 That mocks all calculation.
 But while they differ, who shall steer
 It 'ure can be no sin;
 Untill that points becomes more clear,
 To keep the present *in*.

Observations on a late State of the Nation continued, see page 168.

A Greeable to promise we shall now take into consideration that part of this pamphlet which is evidently written in defence of the Marquis of Rockingham's administration, and to clear it from some heavy charges brought against it by the author of the State of the Nation. We are the better enabled to give a full account of the merits of this controversy, from a perusal of the only reply that has, or is likely to be made to the observations. An examination of which will follow in course.

The censures past on the Rockingham administration, in the State of the Nation may be reduced to three principal heads. The repeal of the stamp act. The commercial regulations made by that administration. And the management of foreign affairs.

In the State of the Nation, the repeal of the American stamp act is thus accounted for.—“ The American colonies not entering into the views of the British parliament, in requiring a revenue from them for the payment of the troops stationed among them, took up the resolution of refusing obedience to its authority, and resisting the officers in the collection of the taxes which it had imposed. To engage the British factors and manufacturers to interest themselves in their behalf, they entered into associations neither to import or use, the manufactures of Great Britain, unless the lately imposed taxes were repealed; a popular cry was in consequence raised in this country, for granting the demands of the American subjects. The mischiefs to be apprehended from a refusal were so much exaggerated, their strength to resist so soundly asserted, that parliament gave into *the imposition*, and gave up the taxes without requiring an acknowledgement from the colonies of its supremacy, or their making compensation to the revenue by any grants of their provincial assemblies. The restraints which had been laid upon their trade by some late acts of parliament, and still more by the strict execution of the old laws, they complained had disabled them from making specie remittances to England; and parliament and ministry seemed to vie with each other in giving credit to their representations, and in removing obstructions to the freedom of American commerce.”

The imposition on parliament is said to have arisen “ from false representations concerning the suspension of orders in 1765 in consequence of the dislike of the stamp act in America, and as false promises of a revival of trade, an augmentation of orders, and regular remittances in specie in 1766, if the stamp act should be repealed---it was according repealed, and yet says the author, contrary to the representations of administration, and the evidence given in parliament, the exports from Great Britain to America in 1766 actually fell short of those in 1765, no less than to the amount of 176,884l. So greatly was the administration and parliament abused by those they confided in, and so dangerous it is to allow interested traders to direct the measures of government.”

So very important is the object of this contest to the whole nation, and so necessary is it to attend to every point that may serve to lead us to the sources of those party divisions which have long disturbed the peace of this kingdom, and impeded the progress of public affairs, and to the

principles on which the frequent changes of administration have been founded : that it is impossible to give too ample an account of all the national concerns which have been the subject of political controversy, or have occasioned revolutions in the administration of government. The first and most alarming to the commercial interest of this country is the disputes with the colonies of North America, which become every day more and more interesting ; and the system of American taxation having been revived though under a different form, but productive of equal disturbance and division both at home and abroad, it may be necessary to observe, before we proceed to the defence of the Rockingham administration on this head, that in the State of the Nation, evidently written by the friends of the minister who imposed the stamp act, the duties laid on the colonies by the present administration are strongly condemned, and the measures taken therein are declared to be neither extensive in their purpose nor efficacious in their operations. From this kind of reasoning, which seems to support the taxation of the colonies on one man's plan, and totally to condemn it on any another system, the question naturally arises, if any imposition at all on the colonies was or is expedient, politic or prudent ? The answer we shall find in the defence of the Rockingham administration. But by way of introduction let us notice what the *observer* writes concerning the state of parties among us, as this will serve as a clue to unravel not only the contested point now before us, but every political manœuvre from the date of the peace at Paris to the present moment " It is natural, says he, that the author of the State of the Nation should have some dislike to the administration which was formed in the year 1765. Its views in most things were different from those of his friends ; in some, altogether opposite to them. It is impossible that both of these administrations should be the objects of public esteem. Their different principles compose some of the strongest political lines which discriminate the parties even now subsisting among us. The ministers of 1764 are not indeed followed by very many in their opposition, yet a large part of the people now in office entertain or pretend to entertain, sentiments entirely conformable to theirs ; while some of the former colleagues of the ministry which was formed in 1765, however they may have abandoned their connection, and contradicted by their conduct the principles of their former friends, pretend, on their parts still to adhere to the same maxims. All the lesser divisions, which are indeed rather names of personal attachment, than of party distinction, fall in with the one or the other of these leading parties." Our observer takes notice " that on the resignation of the earl of Bute in 1763, our affairs were delivered into the hands of three ministers of his recommendation, Mr. Grenville, the earl of Egremont, and the earl of Halifax. This arrangement announced to the public a continuance of the same measures, the death of the earl of Egremont, and the accession of the Bedford connections made no alteration, consequently the principles of the peace of Paris governed in foreign affairs. In domestic, the same scheme prevailed, of contradicting the opinions, and disgracing most of the persons who had been countenanced and employed in the late reign."

After condemning this administration in all the popular points of dispute, such as general warrants, seizure of papers, dismissing of military officers

officers for their votes in parliament in opposition to administration &c. he comes to the grand object concerning America. "A teasing custom-house, and a multiplicity of perplexing revenue regulations took place, the greatest part of these were made for America, and they fell so indiscriminately on all sorts of contraband, or supposed contraband, that some of the most valuable branches of our trade were driven violently from our ports; which caused an universal consternation throughout the colonies. About the same time that these regulations seemed to threaten the destruction of the only trade from whence the plantations derived any specie, an act was made putting a stop to the emission of paper currency, which used to supply its place. Hand in hand with this went another act, for obliging the colonies to provide quarters for soldiers. Instantly followed another law for levying throughout all America new port duties upon a vast variety of commodities of their consumption, and some of which lay heavy upon objects necessary for their trade and fishery. Immediately upon the heels of these, followed the stamp act. Taxes for the purpose of raising a revenue had hitherto been sparingly attempted in America. Without ever doubting the extent of its lawful power, parliament always doubted the propriety of such impositions. And the Americans on their part never thought of contesting a right by which they were so little affected. But by this measure was let loose a dangerous spirit of disquiet, not in the coolness of philosophical enquiry, but enflamed with all the passions of an haughty, revengeful people, who thought themselves deeply injured, and that they were contending for every thing that was valuable in the world. The ministry took no one step at home to divert the dangerous spirit which began even then to appear in the colonies, to compromise with it, to mollify it, or to subdue it. No new arrangements were made in civil government, no new instructions were given to governors, no augmentation was made or new disposition of forces. At the same time they carefully concealed from the eye of parliament those remonstrances they had actually received; and which in the strongest manner indicated the discontent of some of the colonies, and the consequences which might be expected; they concealed them even in defiance of an order of council, that they should be laid before parliament. While the commerce and tranquility of the whole empire were thus shaken, our affairs grew still more distracted by the internal dissention of our ministers, in a word every thing conspired to leave the public at the close of the session of 1765, in as critical and perilous a situation, as ever the nation was or could be, in a time when she was not immediately threatened by her neighbours."

"It was at this time and under these circumstances that a new administration was formed, *viz.* The Rockingham administration, surrounded as they were with difficulties of every species, nothing but the strongest and most uncorrupt sense of their duty to the public could have prevailed upon some of the persons who composed it, to undertake the king's business at such a juncture. Scarcely had they entered into office when letters from all parts of America arrived, making loud complaints backed, by strong reasons, against several of the principal regulations of the late ministry. These were attended with representations from many merchants and capital manufacturers at home, who had all their interest involved in

the support of lawful trade, and in the suppression of every sort of contraband. Whilst these things were under consideration, that conflagration blazed out at once in America, an universal disobedience, and an open resistance to the stamp act; and in consequence an universal stop to the course of justice, and to trade and navigation. An interval during which the trading interest of England lay under the most dreadful anxiety it had ever felt. The repeal of that act was then proposed, we shall now state some of the motives drawn from principles of commerce for that repeal. These colonies were evidently founded in subservience to the commerce of Great Britain. From this principle the whole system of our laws concerning them became a system of restriction. A double monopoly was established on the part of the parent country; first a monopoly of their whole import, which is to be altogether from Great Britain; secondly, a monopoly of all their export, which is to be no where but to Great Britain. On the same idea it was contrived that they should send us all their products raw, and in their first state; and that they should take every thing from us in the last stage of manufacture. Were ever a people under such circumstances suspected of a possibility of becoming a just object of revenue?" Certainly not, and of all the arguments made use of in the course of this interesting debate, this is the most forcible, the most unerring, and the most unanswerable; for as he justly observes, "All the ends of their foundation must be supposed utterly contradicted before they could become such an object. Every trade law we have must have become useless or have been eluded, before they could be in such a condition. The restrictions laid on the colonies by our trade laws, are in fact a general taxation on them, and they answer the purpose of revenue at home, by the quantity of articles they take of us in the last stage of manufacture, which have paid inland duties to the state."

In order to shew the importance of our commerce with the colonies, one fact is stated by the *observer* which is very singular. "In the year 1704, the whole trade with all our plantations was but a few thousand pounds more in the exports, and a third less in the imports, than that which we now carry on with the single island of Jamaica. The following inference is drawn from this fact. This colony intercourse is a new world of commerce in a manner created—it stands upon principles of its own—principles hardly worth endangering for any little consideration of extorted revenue." Every reasonable man who has the least idea of our commerce to the colonies must be of the same opinion, especially as we have rivals in the European trade, and from various causes are losing it more and more every day. "The ministry as a preliminary to the repeal of the stamp act resolved to assert in the fullest and least equivocal terms, the unlimited legislative right of this country over its colonies, and having done this, to propose the repeal on principles, not of constitutional right, but on those of expediency, of equity, of lenity, and the true interest present and future, of that great object for which alone the colonies were founded—navigation and commerce. Founding the repeal on this basis, the whole detail of the American affairs was laid before parliament; Every paper of office was laid upon the tables of the two houses; every denomination of men, either of America, or connected with

with it by office, by residence, by commerce, by interest, even by injury; men of civil and military capacity, officers of the revenue, merchants, manufacturers of every species and from every town in England attended at the bar. Such evidence never was laid before parliament."

The reader will be pleased to compare this account with that given by the author of the *State of the Nation*, and to form his own judgment on the two following points—Whether the parliament did or did not repeal the stamp act *without requiring any acknowledgment from the colonies of its supremacy?* and whether, the body of the people just mentioned to have appeared at the bar of parliament can be called *interested traders by whom it is dangerous to be directed in affairs of government?* The resolution of these points will lead him to another enquiry, viz. *Whether the parliament was or was not imposed on by their informations and depositions?* And it will then remain with him to consider to which administration he will grant his approbation. If to the Rockingham, then he must equally condemn the present administration with that of Mr. Grenville, both pursuing the same measures, though in a different mode, with respect to America. If the Grenville administration gains his esteem, that of the present day must be also approved, and thus his party will be decided, for to one or other of the ruling principles of these two divisions, every man must belong who is interested in his country's fate at this dangerous crisis.

The regulations of trade so far as they regard the colonies are the next object of dispute, *the observer* justifies the Rockingham administration in making alterations in the regulations of their predecessors, by declaring, that the advice of the principal merchants, traders, and manufacturers of England and of America were taken, that frequent and full meetings of these people were held at the house of the Marquis of Rockingham, at Mr. Dowdeswell's, and at Sir George Saville's, that they conferred with the active members of parliament. No private views, no local interests prevailed. Never were points of trade settled on a larger foundation. Thus much for American affairs, so far as they stand contested between the author of *the State of the Nation* and his *observer*.

The last charge brought against the Rockingham administration, runs thus, and includes the early period of the present administration, which likewise has its share of condemnation therein. "Foreign affairs seem to have been almost entirely neglected for these two last years 1766 and 1767. The payment of the Manilla ransom, and the disuniting Spain from France, were entrusted to the negotiations of the chaplain to the late embassy at the catholic court. A treaty of commerce had been concluded between the courts of Russia and Great Britain on terms which the Earl of Buckinghamshire had always refused to accept of, and which had been deemed by former ministers disadvantageous for this nation, and, by the merchants unsafe and unprofitable. The demands of the nation upon France for the maintenance of French prisoners, who were not included in the agreement of 1764, although supposed to amount to a considerable sum, do not appear to have been at all prosecuted, or the accounts so much as made up or presented to the French minister; and the proprietors of the Canada bills found themselves under a necessity of compounding their demands upon the French court, and of accepting terms which they had

had often rejected, and which the Earl of Halifax had declared he would rather forfeit his hand than sign his consent to."

The defence set up, to the charge respecting the Manilla ransom by the *observer* is, "that the demand had been so neglected in the preceding administration, that no countenance was given to the claimants, which made it a matter of no small difficulty to resume and press that negotiation with Spain. However so clear was our right, that little time was lost in reviving it. The Rockingham administration was not completed till the 9th of July 1765, on the 20th of the following month, General Conway transmitted a strong and full remonstrance on that subject, to the Earl of Rochfort. The argument on which the court of Madrid most relied was, the *dereliction* of that claim by the preceding ministers. However, it was still pushed with so much vigour, that the Spaniards from a positive denial to pay, offered to refer that demand to arbitration. That proposition was rejected, and the demand being still pressed, there was all the reason in the world to expect its being brought to a favourable issue, when it was thought proper to change the administration."

Our *observer* has been very inaccurate in the order of his defence, and has wholly omitted one of the charges brought against the Rockingham administration, I mean that respecting the demand on the court of France for the maintenance of the French prisoners, on which we must leave the reader to make his own reflections. The next point is the Russian treaty on which he observes, that both the assertions of his antagonist are equally groundless. "The treaty concluded was not on the terms refused by the Earl of Buckinghamshire. That nobleman never did refuse terms, because the business never came to the point of refusal or acceptance, all that he did was to receive the Russian project for a treaty of commerce and to transmit it to England. But the merchants says he, deemed them unsafe and unprofitable—what merchants? As no treaty was ever more maturely considered, so the opinion of the Russian merchants in London was all along taken; and all the instructions sent over were in exact conformity to that opinion. Our minister there, made no step without having previously consulted our merchants resident in Petersburg, who before the signing of the treaty, gave the most full and unanimous testimony in its favour, signed by the consul general, and every British merchant in Petersburg."

The composition made with the court of France in regard to the Canada bills, appears in a very different light in the *observations* from that in which it is represented in the *State of the Nation*; "the convention for the liquidation of these bills was concluded under the Rockingham administration, at a time when the proprietors had absolutely despaired of being paid any proportion of their demand." Every step of the transaction was taken in concert with the persons interested, and was terminated to their entire satisfaction, as a proof of which a very grateful letter, full of the warmest acknowledgments from the Canada merchants to General Conway is annexed in a note to the observations p. 133.

The next article on which we must animadvert is the rejoinder of the author of *the State of the Nation*, entitled,

An APPENDIX to the *Present State of the Nation*, containing a reply to the *Observations on that Pamphlet*, octavo, 1s. Almon.

THE first pages of this appendix are taken up with clearing Mr. Grenville from all supposition of his being the author of the *Present State of the Nation*, and in our humble opinion there cannot be a stronger proof, that a variety of *exceptionable* details of the melancholy situation of our public affairs, are given in that pamphlet, which having proved extremely unpopular, every attempt is now made not only to support that gentleman's disavowal of being the author, but to persuade the public he had no hand whatever directly or indirectly, either in the composition, the furnishing materials, or the revival of the performance. But throughout the whole there appears such a regular series of arithmetical deductions, arising from an intimate connection with treasury business; and in commendation of those who had the management of the public revenue in 1764, that no doubt can possibly remain in any impartial mind, that some considerable officer of the treasury acting under the immediate eye of Mr. Grenville when he was minister, is the author; perhaps too he had for coadjutor some custom-house friend. It is acknowledged however in the appendix that both the author of the *State of the Nation*, and of the appendix, are the warm friends of the Grenville administration. Accordingly we find in every page of the appendix, just as it was in the *State of the Nation*.—All the measures of the succeeding administrations totally condemned, but the chief object of the appendix is, the Rockingham administration, no defence of which will he admit, and sorry are we to say, that the false satire, the illiberal wit, the rancour and malevolence of heart he complains of in the observer, are justly chargeable only on his own appendix. After having carefully perused *the observations* we cannot fix on one indecent or ungenteel expression; general reprehensions for having published such an exaggerated account of the bad state of the nation runs through the performance, and the author is charged with the sinister view, of wanting to discredit the present and all other administrations in order to reestablish his favourite Mr. Grenville—this charge is retorted in the appendix with great bitterness on the author of the observations, who is taxed with having no other design in attacking the *State of the Nation*, but to restore his friends the Rockingham party to power. “Now let us give an instance of these gentlemen's manner of treating each other. The *observer* thus expresses himself—“*the purpose of the State of the Nation* is, to persuade the public of three or four of the most difficult points in the world—that all the advantages of the late war were on the part of the Bourbon alliance, that the peace of Paris perfectly consulted the dignity and interest of this country; and that the American stamp act was a master-piece of policy and finance,—that the only good minister this nation has enjoyed since his majesty's accession is, the Earl of Bute; and the only good managers of revenue we have seen are, Lord Despenfer and Mr. George Grenville, and under the discipline of men of virtue and ability, he holds them out to us as the only fit persons to put our affairs in order. Let not the reader mistake me; he does not actually name these persons, but, having highly applauded their conduct in all its parts, and heavily censured every other set of men in the kingdom, he then

then recommends us to his men of virtue and ability."—This indeed is a very severe criticism of the state of the nation, but not conveyed in language that indicates spleen, ill-humour and bad manners.

In the appendix now before us, the following terms are made use of with respect to the writer of *the observations*. "His hopes of his friends getting into the ministry are founded upon encreasing the calamities of his country, and he eagerly tears off the stiptics which I had held to his parent's gushing wounds; and rends her mangled body in pieces, that his avarice and ambition may glut themselves with her blood, and that the tongues of his dogs may be red with the same. "In another place, he stiles his adversary, party writer, unhappy man, and adds that exploring the devices of a malignant heart, and exposing its machinations, detecting its misrepresentations, and wiping off its calumnies, are to a man of humanity, the most painful occupations, and with great humanity he desires *the observer*, in another part of his appendix, to perform the office of hangman upon himself; yet it must be acknowledged, that after much warmth and many illiberal expressions, he seems to repent, and allows, that indignation has prompted his pen to set down some expressions, which convey stronger ideas of dislike to the author of *the observations*, than the degree of the offence he has given him ought to have exacted, or than he really entertains—if the reader should be of that of that opinion he asks his pardon." And really, as his reader, the reviewer cannot but be of opinion that the foul charges of a malignant heart, of avarice, of ambition, and of establishing themselves on the basis of the public calamities of their country, by no means define the characters of the Marquis of Rockingham and his friends.

In fact, the whole appendix is a tissue of lame apologies, and unguarded resentment, hastily thrown together, and in point of composition wholly unworthy of the pen of the author of *the Present State of the Nation*. Nor after the strictest scrutiny have we been able to select one passage which refutes any material point in *the observations*, except in that writer's account of the difference between the peace establishment on a medium for four years since the peace of Paris and on a medium for the four years preceding the war, on an exact stating the accounts of these years in the appendix it appears that the assertion in *the State of the Nation* of the present peace establishment exceeding the peace establishment of that period by near 1,500,000*l.* is made good, whereas the *observer* had endeavoured to invalidate it.

But the most material charge of all brought against the State of the Nation is, the having misrepresented the balance of our trade by placing it at so low a value as 2,500,000*l.* which *the observations* raise to 4,000,000*l.* this difference was so great, and the first amount is so alarming, that the author of the appendix should either have disproved the comfortable account given by the *observer*, or have acknowledged his error, in so capital a point, instead of this, behold his insufficient reply, "If I produce proofs in my defence which might demonstrate, that the error lies on the other side *respecting the 4,000,000*l.** I shall be justly accused of unnecessarily exposing the nakedness of my country, and if I withhold them, I must submit to this writer's illiberal censure. To the latter I will much rather submit, than be the occasion of injury to my country. I will not there-

therefore offer any proofs, nor employ any arguments in defence of my suppositious balance of 2,500,000l." Suppositious indeed, and happy it is for the people of Great Britain that we are able to say so—but is this the language of a great financier's quondam secretary, after having alarmed the public creditors for many months? He is equally evasive and unsatisfactory in his endeavours to support his first charge against the Rockingham administration with respect to the stamp act, instead of refuting the observer's account of the repeal, wherein he shews that the parliament and the ministry were not imposed on by interested traders,—he says, "I will repeat it, that they were, and then he dismisses the subject by a low sneer at the Marquis, that he meant in accusing the traders whose deposition procured the repeal, to throw the blame of the measure from the minister on the advisers, and thereby make an apology for a nobleman who having never served in any office but that of a lord of the bedchamber before he was called to the head of the treasury, might be supposed to want advice and direction." This is boyish trifling on serious subjects, it would have been more manly and more humane with respect to the public, to have shewn from undeniable arguments, that the repeal itself was a matter of blame. He exults in the support of his charge against that administration about not stating the account or demanding satisfaction for the maintenance of the French prisoners, and as he styles this a most unaccountable neglect, if the *observer* or his patrons can give any satisfaction to the public on this head, it cannot be done too soon, for till then it will appear to be, a palpable hit.

A decent apology is likewise wanting for an error which appears to have arisen from a want of understanding the energy of an expression in the French language, which his adversary has construed very unfairly into calumny and misrepresentation. The *observer* has advanced from Monsieur D'Eon's memoirs, that the court of France was astonished at our concessions concerning the peace; Here his adversary in the appendix has manifestly the advantage of a true conception of the French writer's expression. The astonishment of D'Eon's friends certainly was not at the concessions, but that he should have the honour of conveying the ratifications of the treaty to Paris. *Je dois cela aux bontés du roi d'Angleterre* &c. He could not possibly mean that he owed any concessions with respect to the terms of the treaty to the king of England, as he was not a principal in the negotiation. Upon the whole we may venture to pronounce that with respect to the three grand objects, the affairs of America, the Massilla ransom, and the Canada bills, and also the general chain of remark on the State of the Nation the *observations* still remain unrefuted. We are now to review another pamphlet occasioned likewise by *the State of the Nation*.

Considerations on the Dependencies of Great Britain, with Observations on a Pamphlet entitled, The Present State of the Nation, octavo, 2s. Almon.

ONE of the most candid, dispassionate and sensible productions that have done honour to the press on the subject of politics for some time. We are afraid our readers may grow tired of the controversy which *the State of the Nation* has given rise to, but we hope when it is considered that a full review of all the arguments on both sides, will lay open to them

them the whole system of politics from the accession of his present majesty, and the state of parties to this hour, he will patiently pursue the subject till we have completed it. Our author's own words will best express the candour of his sentiments—"Whilst I alledge that this pamphlet, *the State of the Nation* suggests some schemes contrary to justice, and others inconsistent with practicability, I am willing to allow that it also communicates useful information. And indeed from the state this author gives of the weight of taxes in England, and the insufficiency of the ordinary revenues to defray the ordinary expences, without annually breaking in upon that fund appropriated for the discharge of the debt, it is evident, that something more than the qualifications of high birth, fortune or even virtue itself, is necessary to regulate the great concerns of the British empire. Some improvement of discipline, some restoration of oeconomy, some discovery of resources must take place, in order, to prevent the destruction of England." Now two resources are pointed out in *the State of the Nation* to supply the insufficiency of the ordinary revenue to defray the ordinary expences; these are an annual contribution from Ireland of 100,000*l.* and of 200,000*l.* from the colonies. Our author, who is a benevolent friend to Ireland and America, undertakes to shew the injustice and impracticability of both; to many this may appear unnecessary, but when it is considered that the propositions come from a quarter and from persons who have been in possession of the revenue department, and who are leaving no stone unturned to regain their power, they become objects of serious discussion; as such they appeared to the present writer, and he has acquitted himself in treating of them with great honour, confirming the sentiment of his brother *observer*, that no dependency of Great Britain, under commercial restrictions to the mother country can possibly become an object of revenue.

His ample state of Ireland is so intelligent, so masterly, and so interesting, that it would be an injustice not to refer the reader to so valuable a treatise, instead of giving imperfect extracts. What he advances on the subject of our American disputes, is so truly great, that it would be equally unjust to withhold it from our readers.

"It is a formidable thing to enforce by arms a violation of right and draw the sword against the liberties of a people—And I lay it down once for all as a maxim, which neither the subtilty of genius, the authority of senates, or the terror of the sword can overcome, that any people whose property is at the discretion of others are in a state of slavery, and that the very idea of property is destroyed, if it may be taken without the consent of the owner."

"On the late occasions of disagreement: the people of America may possibly have misbehaved, and directed their opposition in some particulars in a mode that was exceptionable: but if that be the case, it is little to be wondered at! for disobedience and anarchy have ever been, and ever will be the fruits of oppression—Let those answer for this, who advised the first violation of American liberty, by imposing the stamp duties. This however the British parliament speedily redressed—not because the people resisted, but because the measure was repugnant to the principles of the constitution. I smile when I hear it said there have been good accounts from America, all things are quiet there—the fact is, the people there seem to be sober and determined—but no good news can ever

come from America, except by the return of the ships that carry them good news from England. The colonists at present are *unable*, in any considerable degree to contribute to the regular establishment of Britain—they are at present *unwilling* too, for both their abilities and their attachments depend on the good treatment they receive. Give them by your indulgence a *capacity* and you will by that give them an *inclination* too. The strength of all the colonies united, is weakness when opposed to Great Britain: yet even Great Britain should tremble, if they were united against her in a just cause. Let us not say we do not feel the discontent of America.---We do not feel it, 'tis true, in her opposition, or from her arms; but we feel it in the insults of our natural enemies---we feel it in our impotence or fear to check the progress of their usurpation and the extension of their empire—we feel it in the sacrifice of our generosity and of our glory---we feel it in the wounds of an illustrious people, and the contempt of all Europe. Let England then cherish the colonies, let her make them happy and free, and they will be industrious and rich; and the nature of dependencies co-operating with the wisdom of parliament, shall turn the tide of their acquisitions into their mother country. Let them have a constitution and they will love it; give them a property and they will defend it; give them freedom, and they will adhere to you; give them commerce, and they will enrich you.

“Narrow exactness and official calculation may be subservient, but should never be predominant in the English ministerial character.---The man who to live a year longer in administration, would patch up a supply by a little American plunder---who for the sake of an expedient, would alienate the affections of two millions of loyal subjects, and condemn to military execution all who should be found in rebellion of *self* defence.---who, if from the duration of his authority, there yet remained one amongst the dependencies not actually alienated by public oppression, would endeavour to disgust it by degrading, offensive and unnecessary declarations.---if such a man there be, let him not offer his pernicious counsels to the best of kings.---let him never be minister of England.---for such an appointment would throw all the dependencies of Great Britain into despair;---and though he might be a *sacrifice*, he could never be an atonement!”

Serious Hints to Administration, octavo, 6d. Ridley.

A Very serious, severe satire on the whole conduct of the present administration, whom the author charges with having trifled with every thing they have entered upon. “Unpopularity, says he, seems to be the *Dii Lares* of your administration, and I am afraid, as long as you last, will always intrude upon you, (though I beg pardon for the word intrude) I mean will be always part of the company, and will bye and bye; if the family stays in town much longer, dance cotillions with you.” A few of these starts of jocularly disgrace here and there, the seriousness of our author's attack on the ministry, which is particularly confined to two objects, the opposition they made to the *Nullum tempus* bill, entitled a bill to amend and render more effectual, an act made in the twenty first year of the reign of king James I. entitled an act for the general quiet of the subjects against all pretences of concealment whatever. Our au-

thor hints to administration that he is well apprized that the bill did not pass the house willingly with consent of the ministry, and says, he is sorry to find them not disposed to do any one act freely and voluntarily to please the people. His second object of complaint, after enumerating a variety of acts of negligence in the administration, is their having been duped into a shameful agreement with the East India company, he asks them, as the guardians of the public why they have deigned, with a weakness unparelled, to submit to the company on terms, rather than be at the trouble of minutely entering into the true state of their affairs? He then asserts that the company has overreached the knowledge of administration and are happy in the deceit. He observes "that the ministry though they had a whole year before them, never consulted Lord Clive, who could have told them where the resources of revenue could come from, and where, after they had ransacked every corner of this island for an immediate supply, and called in vain for fresh relief from the colonies, they might have supported this rotten constitution and feasted the exigencies of government with almost a sufficient supply---at least from knowing a true state of these acquisitions, and the produce upon their trade, they might have been in some degree enabled to have kept off, for a time, those oppressive taxes under which burden we must first groan, and in a short time be crushed to death." The merits of this contest must be left with the public, opinions being greatly divided on this head: some maintaining that it was an act of ministerial despotism to demand any revenue from a trading company, already contributing to the necessities of the state, by the duties levied on their imports, and the taxes augmenting the price of our manufactures which they export: others look upon the whole establishment of the company as an illegal monopoly in a free commercial state, and say, that if government permits the continuance of the exclusive benefits derived from this monopoly, the company ought to pay for it, and give a much larger aid to government than has as yet been required. As our author promises another publication containing a real and genuine account of all the different administrations since the year 1760, with their separate views, interests and connections relative to that great object the public good, we have only one or two serious hints to give him, viz. to pay greater attention to his style, for he might be convicted of the most puerile inaccuracies in almost every page of his present performance, but particularly in p. 22 there is a total deviation from grammar and common sense: not doubting but he will thankfully acknowledge our lenity, we will forbear to cite the passage---never make awkward attempts to wit and humour, they debase the dignity of national subjects, and take away the force of solid reasoning.

An Appeal to the Public, touching the death of Mr. George Clarke, who received a Blow at Brentford on Thursday the 8th of December last, of which he languished and died on Wednesday the 14th of the same Month. By John Foot, Surgeon, octavo. 1s. Davis.

THIS very sensible, judicious performance is written on the principle of self-defence, as well as to give the public a satisfactory account of the real cause of the death of George Clarke, who was murdered by
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Mac Quirk, of which horrid crime the said Mac Quirk was found guilty by his country, and had sentence of death passed on him, according to law, which sentence was prevented being carried into execution, by an act of royal clemency. See p. 231 of our last number.

In the royal proclamation it is partly given as a reason for the pardon, that the only person called to prove on the trial of Mac Quirk that the death of the said George Clarke was occasioned by the said blow, was John Foot, Surgeon, who never saw the deceased till after his death. Notice is also therein taken, that William Bromfield, Esq; Surgeon, and Solomon Starling, Apothecary, both of whom attended the deceased till before his death, and expressed their opinions that he did not die of the blow he received at Brentford, were not produced as witnesses on the trial.

A very close attention to this part of the proclamation will enable us to judge with precision on the merits of Mr. Foot's performance, and shew us the necessity of his publishing a justification of his opinion given on oath before the coroner, that George Clarke did die of the said blow. Mr. Foot introduces his case to the public in a very nervous spirited stile.

"I did not apprehend that the discharge of my duty in the regular exercise of my profession would ever make it necessary for me, to appeal to the public. Much less could I suppose that the same person who refused to attend the coroner's jury on their inquisition into the death of Mr. Clarke would be the *principal* in an attack on my character for having obeyed their summons." It may not be improper to connect the fact as it is stated in another part of the pamphlet with the remark here made.

"On Thursday the 8th of December, 1768, I was called in by the coroner's jury to examine the dead body of Mr. George Clarke. Mr. Walker, Surgeon, had likewise been sent for, but *fortunately for him* was not at home. I attended, and enquired who had taken care of the deceased in his illness? I was answered, that he had been visited by Mr. Starling, apothecary, and by Mr. Bromfield, surgeon. Mr. Starling had already given his evidence. I desired Mr. Bromfield might be present. I was informed he had been sent for *twice*, and had refused to come, because he *apprehended* it might be an Old Bailey business; and for the same reason would not permit any of his assistants to come." An impartial public, will not hesitate to pronounce that Mr. Bromfield solely on account of this refusal, was the most improper person upon earth to make any representations to the throne or elsewhere; and that if he had valued his own reputation, no importunity would have engaged him to interfere in an affair wherein he had already failed in the first duty of a surgeon, which is, to attend the call of his country on all occasions, where his skill in his profession may render his evidence material. Let me acquaint Mr. Bromfield that he owes this duty to society, as a member of the company of surgeons enjoying the privileges of incorporation, and that there are various punishments inflicted in different civilized nations for such neglects: suspension from the exercise of his profession is the mildest; imprisonment is more general; but in many parts of the world he would have met with the fate Mac Quirk so fortunately escaped. Indeed it is a shameful reflection on our police, that physicians, apothecaries and surgeons should be permitted to refuse their attendance at any time, in case of sickness and accidents, when they do not approve of the patient's circumstances, and are apprehensive the fees will not be adequate to their

high merit. In France, Flanders, Holland and several other well regulated states, they are severely punished, if they refuse to come at the first summons, to the poorest subject, unless they can prove they were fully employed in their profession, or hindered by sickness at the time they received such summons. Their fees likewise are moderate, in England they are so exorbitant, that it is sufficient to ruin a man in middling circumstances to have an infirm family, yet though the faculty are so well rewarded here; it is the only country where saucy, impertinent refusals, and cruel delays are daily experienced: but to return to our author. "It would be a little hard, says he, if in the shock of contending parties, the reputation of an indifferent man, who is connected with, and attached to neither, should be destroyed, to answer the purposes of one of them." Yet this must have been the case of Mr. Foote, if he had not made this appeal to the public. For the court of examining surgeons convened by the secretary of state, whose members are not upon oath themselves, nor receive any evidence upon oath, declared their opinion *without inspection* of the body, to be contrary to Mr. Foot's founded on *inspection* of the body, and three times delivered upon oath; and this opinion must necessarily have affected Mr. Foot's character—since it was of so much consequence, and such stress was laid upon it, that it controuled the verdict of three several juries, strengthened by the unanimous approbation of the learned judges who presided at the trial of Mac Quirk. But Mr. Foot observes, likewise, that some persons seem very desirous to believe that the deceased died of a nervous fever, or a putrid fever, or a drunken fever, or of any other fever or disorder, or of any thing but the blow, in consequence of which, many reproachful insinuations have been thrown out against him and his evidence. Stronger motives cannot be urged for his laying the whole case before the public, to convince them that he has never retracted his opinion, as had been openly asserted, and to inform them on what it was founded.

The first of these points Mr. Foot clears up by giving the deposition he made before the coroner, and the paper he signed at the request of Messrs. Ranby, Middleton and Bromfield. His certificate sworn to before the Coroner runs thus, "These are to certify, that I have examined the body of Mr. George Clarke, and found a wound on the upper part of the head with the scalp much bruised; on opening the head there appeared a quantity of extravasated blood under the dura mater and the vessels of the pia mater and brain were turgid with blood and ruptured, from these appearances, I do verily believe, to the best of my judgment, that his death was owing to the aforesaid wound." JOHN FOOT.

The paper in which the retraction of this opinion is said to be couched, is as follows.

"I John Foot, Surgeon, of Holles Street, Cavendish Square, declare, that it is my opinion, that in case proper and early care accompanied by necessary evacuations, had been taken of the deceased Mr. George Clarke, whose head I examined on Thursday December 15th. 1768, that in all probability, he would have recovered. Of these sentiments I acquainted the aunt at her house, previous to the trial."

JOHN FOOT,

Mr. Bromfield who could not be prevailed on to attend the Coroner nor to send any of his assistants—gave the closest attention, and expressed the utmost eagerness in prevailing with Mr. Foot to sign this paper, and it will plainly appear to every impartial reader, on a strict scrutiny of all

the proceedings relative to the obtaining this paper, which are too long to be quoted ; that all the subsequent transactions relative to the convening of the court of examiners, and to the final pardon of Mac Quirk were founded on it. A plain proof that Mr. Foot's opinion had great weight with his opponents, since so much pains were taken to get him to sign what they call a retraction ; and also of the insignificance of Starling the apothecary. This paper however, after all, does not in the least affect the evidence given on the trial, nor the verdict, which is not founded on Mr. Foot's evidence alone, but on a number of concurring circumstances. " It was proved that the deceased Mr. Clarke was in perfect health on Thursday the 8th of December, and till the very moment he received the blow, from that time he languished and continued daily to grow worse till Wednesday the 14th, when he died. He was himself sensible that the blow would be the cause of his death ; and repeatedly declared it. He lived only five days and fourteen hours after he received the blow. But it was not my duty, or my office to represent to Mr. Bromfield or to the secretary of state, that the want of proper care being taken of a man, either through the poverty, the ignorance, the folly or the neglect of him that is wounded, will not, or ought not to acquit the murderer ; especially when death so quickly ensues ; where the success of that care is uncertain ; and where the weapon used to give the blow was deadly. This consideration belongs to those who are tied by oath and office to administer equal justice to the people, into whose hands the power of reward and punishment is entrusted, not partially to gratify their own inclination, their pride, or their resentment ; but justly and conscientiously to apply them as restraints from bad, and encouragements to good actions."

Mr. Foot is certainly right ; for surely no one will say---that if a man gives another a blow with a deadly weapon on so dangerous a part as the head, in a bye lane at a distance from any town, and the poor victim is obliged to get the contusion examined, and perhaps unskilfully dressed by a farrier at the first shop he meets with, and dies in consequence of the blow or mismanagement, for want of the timely assistance of a Bromfield, or a Dale Ingram,—that therefore he is not murdered, or does not die of the blow. Yet all the result of the assiduity of Mr. Bromfield and the rest of the gentlemen who procured the paper from Mr. Foot, and of the enquiries of the court of examiners amount to no more than to prove, that there was a probability that he might have lived, had timely and proper care been taken of him ; but if this sort of reasoning be once admitted, many a future murderer may be equally entitled to royal mercy. For a man may cut another's throat, but not so effectually as to cause instant death ; an unskilful surgeon may be applied to, who does not sew up the wound properly, and an ignorant apothecary may administer medicines to encrease the dangerous symptoms attending such cures ; the man may languish and die ; and a court of examiners may determine without inspection of the body, that if a Ranby, or a Middleton had been called for in time, " and had thought proper to attend, not apprehending an Old Bailey business," the deceased might have recovered, and that consequently he did not die of having his throat cut, but of the symptoms occasioned by that event.

The surgical part of this pamphlet is so very accurate, so clear, and so satisfactory, that to persons not totally ignorant of the human frame,

there will not appear the least difficulty or intricacy in the case. But the best justice we can do to Mr. Foot's skill and character as a surgeon, and a man of honour, is to recommend the perusal of this work, instead of further extracts.

One reflection on the whole, we hope will not be deemed unimportant to leave on the minds of the free and independent. It is a melancholy proof of the depravity of the times, when men think themselves so exalted by their high stations, that they are not responsible for their extra-official conduct, when it interrupts the cause of justice, to the future endangering the safety of the persons and properties of their fellow citizens; and that they will not vouchsafe to answer the very pertinent questions put to them by men of character and reputation, when signed with their names, by which they make themselves accountable for any improper demand.—The questions put to the *s—* of *s—* by Mr. Foot, are of the highest consequence, they affect all future trials for murder, and are of great moment with respect to the determinations of judges and juries. The people of England in general, and all housekeepers in particular who are liable to be called on juries, are entitled to have them resolved. Silence in this case must proceed either from contempt, which is an insult on the people, or from a consciousness, which it is not proper to avow, “that the choosing a jury consisting of surgeons only, for such were the court of examiners, to over-rule the determination of three common legal juries was unprecedented and highly improper.” These gentlemen also owe the public a full and clear account, suitable to their profession, of the several circumstances which tended to produce the opinion, that Clarke did not die of the blow. As to Mr. Bromfield, his silence is unpardonable, with respect to several very material points in his conduct, noticed by Mr. Foot, and which he calls upon him to clear up to the public; and we must remark, that if he does not vouchsafe to comply with this request, it will afford another melancholy reflection on the folly of mankind, in contributing to make the fortunes of men, and to raise them to eminence in their profession; it since only serves to enable them to exert their superior credit in arbitrary decisions to the detriment of their fraternity, and to the general dissatisfaction of a whole nation; and then insolently to refuse a vindication, if it can be made, of their extraordinary conduct.—It were better to keep the practitioners of physic and surgery more upon a level, and to unite, in reducing their extravagant demands for their assistance.

* * Two pamphlets have been published in opposition to Mr. Foot's account of the death of George Clarke; the one entitled, *The Blow, &c.* by Mr. Dale Ingram, Surgeon, octavo, 1s. Richardson and Urquhart. The other a *Counter Appeal to the Public*, by experienced surgeons. octavo. 1s. J. Rosen, No. 54, St. Martin's-le-grand; but after a very careful examination of both these productions we have not been able to discover any material objection to Mr. Foot's deposition before the Coroner, any arrangement of his abilities as a surgeon, or any impeachment of his character, as an honest, independent, worthy member of society. It is hoped therefore that the notice taken in indicating the places where they are sold, will be deemed sufficient for their merit; especially if it be considered that when men cannot set the public right by giving very material information on important contested points, it is much better not to write at all, than to trifle and mislead the judgment.

A Poetical Address in Favour of the Corsicans, quarto. 1s. Almon.

A Spirit of benevolence and philanthropy, and a generous ardour in the cause of liberty breathes throughout the whole of this ingenious performance, and justly entitles it to our warmest commendations. From among many beautiful passages in this elegant poem, the following is selected as a specimen of the author's talents.

Who shall arise
To earn the laurel of immortal fame ?
To shield the guiltless ? To defend the weak ?
And break oppression's rod ? Say who hath heard
The voice of freedom calling to her sons ?
That voice which penetrates, and fires the heart ;
Rouzes the power of action ; breaks the spells
Of sloth ; and stamps the image of divine
On mortal ———
O Britons ! let her pleadings touch your hearts :
Hath she not cherished you ? Hath not her power
In every age inspired you, and repell'd
The weapons of oppression ? Hence your fields
Are clothed with plenty ; hence your streets are fill'd
With gladness ; and security protects
Your roof from insult. Hence to every wind
Commerce expands her sails ; from every clime,
From Ganges, and the spicy groves of Ind,
Or from the western shores, and islands lav'd
By the Atlantic, wealth the fair reward
Of industry pours copious. Prospering arts,
Foster'd by freedom, by her bounteous hand
Upheld, in ALBION fix their chosen seat.

A Sermon by the Reverend Mr. Horne, quarto, 1s. Almon.

THE subject, " the faithless desertion of friends, and the insensibility shewn to the misfortunes of others ;" prettily expressed in a genteel compliment, by way of address, to James Townsend Esq; on his late generous exertions in the cause of his country and humanity, whose common rights have been most grossly violated in the person of a much injured and oppressed individual ; it is almost needless to inform the reader, that this individual is Mr. Wilkes. We are sorry to say the whole merit of this publication lies in the short address to Mr. Townsend prefixed to the sermon itself, which does not contain any new or striking observation, nor in any respect tend to give us so high an opinion of Mr. Horne as a preacher, as we entertain of him, when we consider him as an active supporter of the freedom and independency of his country. The mode of printing with long spaces and short paragraphs, has been universally adopted since the days of STERNE and placed to the account
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of elegance, but the severe eye of criticism will be apt to construe it into parsimony of subject matter, or a selfish design of making a very little go a great way.

Lyric Consolations, with the Speech of Alderman W—— delivered in a Dream at the King's Bench Prison the Evening of his inauguration. 2s. 6d. quarto. Almon.

A Very odd and singular performance, a preface is prefixed addressed to the vulgar reader, with this motto—*odi profanum vulgus et arce*—Which our author says, means no more in civil English than that I entreat you gentlemen, not to give yourselves the trouble to read these imitations; if they had been intended for your entertainment, they would have been executed in a different manner. Notwithstanding this opening he continues to address the vulgar reader, and tells him they were written for the amusement of a friend of his, who is languishing in prison for having paid his debts, in short for giving up all he was worth to an honest tradesman upon a simple contract, without leaving himself one single shilling to oppose the fictitious claims of a confederacy of attorneys. We are charitably led to hope, that if they were written for this friend's amusement, they are under his present circumstances, printed for his benefit; on this footing therefore we recommend them to the public. The author laments to his friends, that the imitations of Horace have never been well executed, that the nobility and opulent gentry of this land have monopolized this province to themselves; he purposes therefore to rescue it out of their hands, and gives the following reasons for undertaking this office. "Finding in myself every disposition imaginable for the muses service, a most potent and strenuous inertness, with a sovereign inaptitude to every pursuit that can be deemed profitable, useful or necessary, I can scarce imagine, but my endeavours to be agreeable to the mine will be more acceptable than the impertinent airs of men of quality and fortune; who think they do them an honour when they vouchsafe to take notice of them.

After this account of the writer from his own words we must beg leave to refer the reader to the poems for more satisfactory information: The original odes and the imitations are printed together; some of them allude to modern characters and modern politics, but very obliquely; annexed to these imitations is a very satirical speech—said to be delivered in a dream by Alderman W——— against the abolishing the distinction of parties, which has lately been a favourite plan: This subject is humourously treated, but in some places the wit is rather gross, and runs too much on indecent, filthy similes and comparisons.

A curious frontispiece decorates this performance called the installation, a reference to which may be found in the imitation of the 8th ode of the 4th book, addressed to Daniel Webb, Esq; it will be sufficient here to notice that the Earl of Bute is the subject of the satire, both in the ode and in the frontispiece.

The Times, a Poem, quarto, 1s. 6d. Almon.

A Very pretty panegyric on John Wilkes, Esq; for which we prophecy the author will never be made poet-laureat. Independent of the personality of this poem, there are some lines which mark strong

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poetical talents, but on the whole this piece does not sufficiently answer its title, for it is neither characteristic of the times, nor a general satire on the manners of the age we live in. If it will afford any consolation to the patriot whose signal worth it announces, and contribute to keep up his fortitude and steady perseverance, which the author declares will carry him through all his difficulties; we think it will answer a very valuable purpose, and as such merit the attention of the numerous friends and well wishers of the hero of this poem.

The following lines we are humbly of opinion have more merit than the rest of the piece.

O rouze, ye Britons, good and brave
Your injured drooping country save,
Shall Britons slight their country's call?
Indignant spurn the servile chain,
Free, as your guardian waves remain,
Or crush'd, with freedom greatly fall.

The wretch, affecting to be wise,
Untouched by private injuries,
Regardless of the public weal,
Sits safe at home, supine and tame
And sagely wonders at the flame,
Which murmuring thousands dare to feel.

A vindication of the D—— of G——; in answer to a Letter signed Junius, inserted in the Public Advertiser of Saturday the 12th of March, above, 18.
Nicol.

THE letter which partly employs the pen of this warm advocate for the D—— of G——; our readers will find registered p. 234 of our work. The vindication, is properly an apology for the D—— with respect to his share in the measure of advising the pardon of Mac. Quirk, and for his grace's desertion of his former friend Mr. Wilkes. But the greatest part of the pamphlet is dedicated to the service of the Earl of B——, in a double capacity, for it is meant to white-wash the thane; and to make John Wilkes appear as black as the devil himself; and the author kindly promises——“That if it pleaseth God!” to grant him the least success in this arduous task, together with a prolongation of life, and a sufficiency of spirits, even in the midst of painful sensations of body and mind, he will not fail to make some further attempts of the like nature.” We imagine he will be spared that trouble for few people will give him credit for what he has already advanced, contrary to the melancholy experience of the whole kingdom. Our author tells us that he fears the D—— of G—— like some of his predecessors in office, thinks it too much beneath himself to take any notice of anonymous aspersions on his public or private character.” This is certainly vouching more for the noble D—— and his predecessors than is consistent with truth, or sound policy, nor can we possibly believe that the English press is or has been rendered so contemptible in the time of any modern ministers

as for them to have thought the animadversions on their conduct, continually published, though by anonymous writers, beneath their notice; especially when the subjects are important and national. On the contrary we see the slightest rumours, when they affect the ministerial interest most assiduously answered by little ministerial advertisements, which have been more frequent lately than ever. They are generally to be known by running thus—"we have authority, or we are authorized to assure the public that the report of the French having sent a great armament to India &c. is without foundation." This writer could not have set out with a more idle and ill-timed vaunt respecting his G—e of G——n, who has perhaps felt the lash of public criticism as feelingly, or more so, than any of his predecessors. It had been asserted by Junius, that every ungracious or severe exertion of the prerogative, is to be placed to the account of the minister; but that whenever an act of grace or benevolence is to be performed, the whole merit of it should be attributed to the sovereign himself. This is said to be equally false as unjust, and we think our author is certainly right in what he advances on this head. It is as much the duty of a minister, to advise in the latter case as in the former, and he is therefore entitled, to share in the praise that can result from the one, full as much as in the blame that may be laid on the other: this is sound reasoning on a general maxim.

"As to the ungracious acts which have distinguished the D— of G—n's administration, our author supposes that Junius means, that sole *mitigated* act of justice which the first, and most insolent of all offenders has drawn upon himself, in spite of all the time and means afforded him to avoid it." It is the first time that we have heard the rigorous prosecutions, made more vexatious by blunders, or the hard sentence passed on Mr. Wilkes, styled a *mitigated act of justice*.

He supposes the author of the North Briton and his rotten associate—poor Churchill! independent of numb. 45 to have so offended by many aspersions, in such a tender and sensible part, and in such a provoking insolent manner, that unless K—s were supposed to be gods or brutes, it could not but have made the deepest impression. We are of the same opinion, if this is really the case, and think with the *vindicator*, that it should be without the province of any man to defend it. But if no such personal aspersions or indignities are to be found in the North Britons, unless we are to suppose the Earl of B—e and the K— to be one and the same flesh and blood, the charge falls to the ground. Had the writer of these celebrated papers, thought that he had personally attacked m—y himself, the stile of his supplicatory letter for mercy, would certainly have been quite different from what it was. With respect to the act of mercy extended to Mac Quirk which Junius has considered as a ministerial measure of the D— of G—n's own contrivance: "His apologist observes, that neither the Earl of R—d nor his co-ministers will be obliged to him for robbing them of their share in it; nor his m—y, for turning one of those acts, in which his royal will and pleasure can manifest itself in all its splendour, into a mere ministerial measure." Just now we have been told that the minister ought always to have a share in the praise resulting from acts of mercy in the crown, and here Junius is accused of robbing m—y of its best splendour by styling this a ministerial act. But mark a further sophistry of this writer, he first arraigns Jun— for ascribing this act of mercy to the sole contrivance of the D— of G—n, wishes that he could claim the whole merit of it to

himself, but owns that his co-ministers and the k— have the greatest share of it. He then falls foul on Junius and scurrilously brands him with *impudence* for having dared to assert in the face of thousands and ten thousands,—a sign this that Junius is read and attended to—that this act is received with universal disapprobation and disgust. Now through all this violent charge of impudence, there is discoverable, a piece of state cunning not unworthy the D— himself; and entirely consistent with his chicaning behaviour to all his friends. For Junius is right and the D— knows it, the pardon of Mac Quirk is received with universal disapprobation and disgust, and therefore his G—e or his vindicator want artfully to throw the blame on the Earl of R—d his co-ministers or m——y itself, no matter where, so he gets clear. As to the affair of the riot at Brentford, this fiery advocate for the D— of G—n fairly throws off the mask, and after shewing how obnoxious Wilkes was to government and calling him the *Cataline* of his country—he tells us plainly, “that if he had been minister he would not have scrupled, on such an emergent occasion, to have disguised all his menial servants; and to have employed them together with all his dependents of the like class to escort Sir W— B— P— to the hustings or any of his voters,—he might have added, *or to murder his opponents!* But he goes further and says, that in such fragrant case of seduction as this,—What seduction? The putting up Serjeant G—, it would have been desirable, that the constitution could have allowed of a public reward to be offered, under the sanction of the legislative power, to every necessitous voter of this county, who would have ventured his life in support of true liberty and loyalty; and have deserted the friend of a convict who had been declared, by the whole representative body of the people themselves, to be guilty of alienating the affections of the people from his m—y, withdrawing them from their obedience to the laws of the realm; and exciting them to treacherous insurrections against his m—y’s government.”

We will leave the public to determine from this quotation, where the charge of impudence lies, with Junius, or this shameless apologist for the conduct of the D— of G——, who openly declares that any method would have been eligible, to prevent the election of Serjeant G—— merely because this gentleman had exerted his great abilities in the law, in the legal defence of Wilkes, who by the laws of the land was entitled to the assistance of counsel. This writer says of Junius, that he suspects he is not an Englishman unless he is Wilkes himself: The paragraph just quoted makes us doubt who *he* is, unless he is either S— W— B— P— or the D— of G—— himself, for none else would surely have dared thus to insult the freeholders of Middlesex, on their lawful, adequate choice of Serjeant G——, nor yet have confessed by implication, that the hiring of ruffians, and the paying them well for their infamous services, was the sole contrivance of the m——r. If any money should hereafter remain unaccounted for, our apologist will have cleared the way to an explanation. For the public reward, which he says was a desirable thing to have been granted under the sanction of the legislature, is very easily taken and distributed without that sanction by a m——r on such an emergency. In his further account of this election, he laments that government trusted too much to Sir W——’s own interest and management. What are we to infer from this, but that he would have been better supported in the manner described by our apologist, if his own interest had not been unfortunately too much relied on. An awkward at-

tempt is likewise made to lay the blame of the riot on Serjeant G——n's friends and agents, with what truth this charge has been brought here and elsewhere, the records of Old Bailey will prove; which will convey Sir W——'s name with infamy to the latest posterity. He urges as a proof that the m——r had no hand in employing the ruffians at Brentford, "his not taking care as soon as he was informed of the event—the death of Clarke—to get those criminals, and every one of the concerned out of the way, before they could stand any chance of being betrayed into the hands of justice." In answer to this, let it be remembered that Sir W——, Broughton, and T——m were got out of the way; and that as to the chairmen the getting them out of the way would have been too open, too glaring a confession that the whole riot was ordered by the m——r, especially after the clamours that had been raised on account of getting the soldier out of the way, who shot young Allen.

The defence of Lord B—— the next object of this writer is of so singular a nature, so fraught with indignant reflections on the best friends of the illustrious house of Hanover, and full of such notorious absurdities and falsehoods; yet conducted with so much art and sophistry, that we beg leave to make a separate article of the remainder of this pamphlet, which also recapitulates all the transactions of Mr. Wilkes, and endeavours to hold him out to public view as one of the most abandoned of the human race.

A full refutation of this interesting part of a pamphlet evidently written under the eye of the m——r, and which points him out to be the tool of the Earl of B——e shall be given in our next number, when we shall have the advantage likewise of canvassing the opinions of our brother reviewers on this subject; especially the critical reviewers, who, we foretell, will extol this pamphlet to the skies.

The true constitutional means for putting an end to the disputes between Great Britain and the American Colonies, octavo, 6d. Becket and De Hondt.

THE method of settling the difference between Great Britain and the colonies of North America, proposed by this author is,—To lay a tax upon all the lands possessed by British subjects in America, ad valorem of their rents, to be for ever rated by the imposition of the land tax in Great Britain, so that the same act which imposes the one, should impose the other, always in the same degree." But we are not set right as to this means being constitutional, or likely to put an end to the disputes with the colonies. If therefore the Americans should not view our author's scheme of a tax on their lands in a constitutional light, I see no prospect of adjusting our differences on this plan.

"In every state the directive influence is confined to one part, and cannot, consistently with the public safety, be in different parts at the same time, and every British subject must acknowledge, that the directive influence of the British state remains with the British legislature, who are the only proper judges of what concerns the general welfare of the whole empire. It becomes every country therefore to submit to the burdens imposed upon them in common with their fellow subjects for the defence of the state, when it appears that those burdens are imposed not partially, but in a just and equal proportion." Very true; but where any state has granted charters to particular countries within its dominions, in consequence of which they enjoy full legislative powers, only

subjected to the controul of the authority from whence it is derived; it appears evident, that the right of taxation belongs to this delegated legislative power; that the burdens laid on such a country, as the proportion of the charge of the expences of the whole empire, are to be imposed by that legislative power, and if found to be partial or disproportionate, the supreme authority at home, may repeal the act; but cannot properly in the first instance create and enforce the imposition.

This writer, like many others, throws out a loose sketch, the mere out lines of a plan, which can only afford matter of speculation, and on the subject of finances, it is expected every thing that is offered to the public should be complete and finished, for people will not be at the pains to enter into minute calculations, on the airy projects of others.

It would have been more satisfactory to have given us the probable produce of his tax; if however his assertion be well founded, that the rental of America on an equal extent of lands, as those of Great Britain and Ireland, may be near one million sterling; this tax if the Americans can be brought to consent to it will be productive of 200,000*l.* at least.

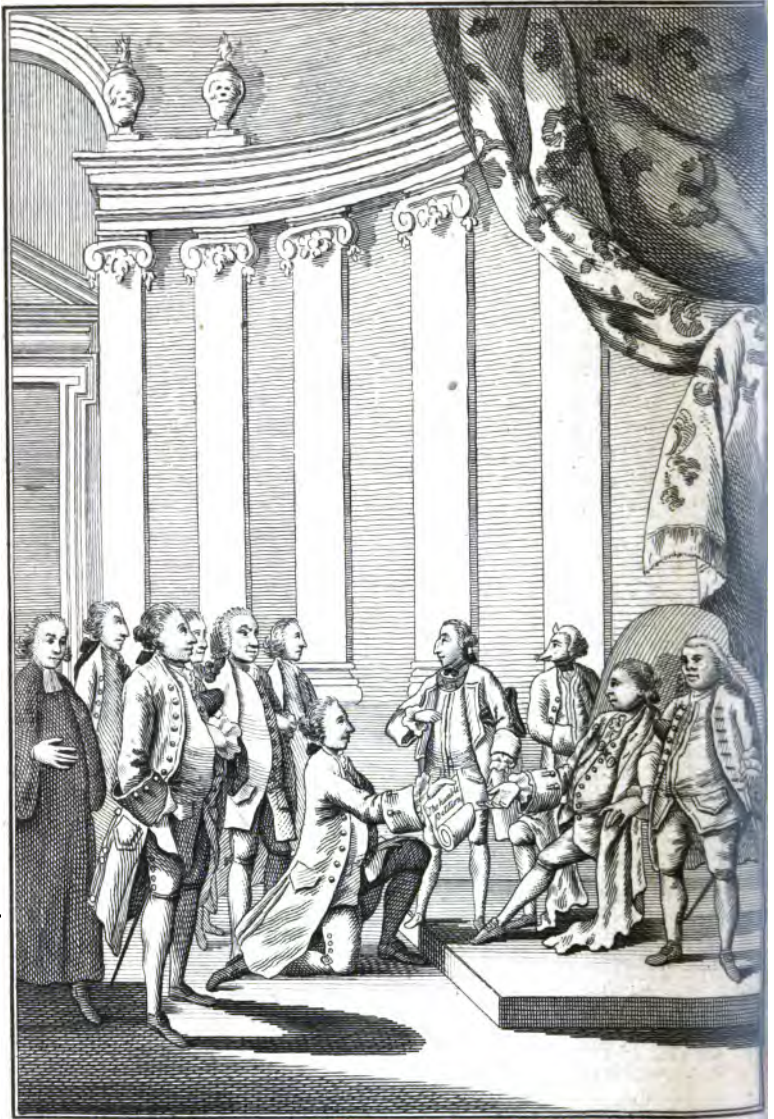
In order to shew that the Americans are able to support this burden, many pertinent remarks are made in the course of this pamphlet, on the flourishing state of the colonies; and it is plainly demonstrated to be the true interest of the colonies not to give any encouragement to manufactures—"They have hitherto thriven astonishingly by avoiding manufactures, and if they would wish not to check their present prosperity, they ought carefully to shun manufactures, till their great population forces them upon them. In a thin peopled country, the greatest of all profits are made by cultivating an improvable fund, where nature co-operates with the industry of man, and, by her never ceasing influence, augments his riches even while he sleeps. I beg to know if the returns of any traffic on earth ever produced so many *per cent* as the returns of agriculture in a fertile soil and favourable climate." In the further pursuit of this argument the writer totally removes all the fears of the mother country, with respect to our apprehensions of losing our commerce with the colonies, by their establishing manufactures. For he says, "that where one person has risen to opulence by manufactures, there are ten planters who have, from almost nothing, acquired not only independence, but lordly possessions—if therefore that legislature which superintends the whole, undertakes to secure the planter," *who enriches himself so much sooner than the manufacturer*, in the quiet possession of his estate, is it at all oppressive to require of him to allot a part of the annual bounties of nature to the support of the public defence, when no greater proportion is demanded of him, than is demanded of any other land proprietor? If the legislative assemblies of the people in the colonies, think this a just tax, I doubt not but they will immediately impose it on themselves and thank this writer for his hint; but if they should neither judge it equitable, nor productive of a sufficient revenue to purchase their peace with administration at home, it is probable this plan will sink very early into oblivion.

Rational Results upon the Present State of the National Debt, with a regular and infallible Process for discharging the same in a very few years, quarto. 1s. 6d.

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A Very good reason may be given why most writers on the subject of the public revenue or finances of this kingdom have proved un-

Designed & Engraved for the Political Register.



The Freeholders of Middlesex presenting their Petition.

T H E

POLITICAL REGISTER,

For J U N E, 1769.

N U M B E R XXVII.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

*A COUNTRYMAN'S Letter and Petition to the D— of G—
and L— N—.*

My Lords,

I AM a plain country-fellow, such as can have no access to such great folks, as first or second lords of the treasury, and yet I have a little matter of business with you and lord N—, which I should be very glad to transact with you in private, that I might have an opportunity of breaking both your heads, and not stirring a step from the place after the job, for if so be as I was indicted for murder they say a body can get examining surgeons to make it as plain as your nose in your face, that a swinging blow from an oaken trowel which brings a man to the ground and would kill an ox, will not cause the death of a common man in our days, much less of your hard-headed ministers, who bear most confounded knocks. Now I suppose your lordship will ham-string me with that damned cutting knife called privilege, which I am told you great folks keep to yourselves, and won't let the common people have the least morsel of it. Besides my dame, is always stunning my ears about some bench, not a bench to rest on, zounds I forgot, yes 'tis, but they say, it is plaguy hard to get away from it. 'Tis called by some

trades-people, and even scolded by their washerwomen, having nothing to stop the mouths of their creditors with but *privilege*, which would not satisfy them, they began to be dubious of all further supplies even of clean linen. Upon this the p——t took compassion on them at the intercession of the D—— of G—— and L—— N—— and having voted a supply to his m——y to satisfy the demands of these needy curs, one Costa a Jew, it is said, proposed a plan to Lord N—— of putting three pounds premium on lottery tickets to be applied to the payment of the K——g's debts, without entailing debts on posterity. The scheme was approved and carried into execution, but I see here, the poor Jew got nothing for his pains. Sad ingratitude neighbours, why these great folks won't be fit to live above ground bye and bye! yes, replied another of the club, but that's no affair of ours, let them look to it; and as I profess myself a loyal subject and love my S—— to my heart, I hope you will all join with me, in thinking it your duty to help him out of his difficulties, and though a great part of the money must go to those scrubs who will not do the nation's business for the common salaries and fees of office, but will fasten upon the good K——'s civil list; yet let us consider, he has a race of royal princes and princesses to provide for; who are so many hostages for the security of the protestant succession in his royal house; and as our ancestors spent a great deal of money to fix the crown in his illustrious family, and to exclude the popish crew; let us cheerfully contribute to enable his present M——y to wear it with dignity; and to prevent the return of popery and slavery—Very just, says another, but I hear popery is countenanced and encouraged in this protestant kingdom and dependencies, though so apparently incompatible with our present happy constitution, and so diametrically against the true interest of the house of Hanover. Zounds exclaimed I, do not let us run into politicks, I am quite sick of that stuff; but I second my neighbour's motion for contributing to pay his M——y's debts, God bless him.

Thereupon your petitioner being always reckoned the best hand at a bargain (though our member who reads the news paper is the best scholar) was pitched upon to collect a subscription in the club, and throughout the neighbourhood, for the purchase of fifty lottery tickets; our wives and daughters readily came into the scheme, for they all love gaming, and sometimes drinking as well as Lord W——h, and when the money was raised, it was determined that your petitioner should set off without loss of time for the Exchequer.

Accord-

Accordingly your petitioner took the best horse out of his stable, a fleet courser, a Newmarket tit, and soon arrived in London, but not without sustaining a very great loss, having lamed my gelding by making too much haste, and thereby spoiled my market for a valuable horse. Your petitioner repaired to the Exchequer, at eleven in the forenoon of the very day when it was advertised the tickets were to be had at thirteen pounds; but who can express your petitioner's surprise when he was informed, they were all gone. It was in vain to remonstrate, this was all the answer I could get from the clerk—when turning about, I perceived a croud of people all come upon the same errand—I was glad to be sure to find I was not the only fool in the play—Some of these however were a little uncivil to me—what does that country put do here, says one, has he any interest with the D— of G— or L— N—? No, gentlemen, replied your petitioner, nor did I think it so much as necessary to enquire for them, I trusted to the advertisement, and imagined the door was open to every good subject that had a mind to express his loyalty to his S— and contribute to the payment of the civil list debts. Go, to, says another, you are a fool, don't you know, that these tickets are a great bargain even at thirteen pounds, that tomorrow they will be fourteen or fifteen, on which account they are given to the friends of members of p—t, p—y e—s, brazen lawyers, aldermen, and common council men, who are the friends of the D— of G— and L— N—. We do not wait here in expectation of getting any tickets at prime cost, but to know who are the identical persons who have been so befriended, that we may purchase of them or their agents on the best terms.

Your petitioner concluding this was a second deception, gave no credit to it, but listened to another party who muttered something between their teeth about dressers—and white washers—or enamellers, which I could not clearly distinguish, but a thought came into my head, that I was now got into the right box, for I heard as how the quality, greatly cares your foreign dressers, and beautifiers, and that they would do more for them, and at their entreaty, than for all the prayers and petitions of people of merit—thinks I, let them beat about the bush while I go and lay hold of the game.—So from an honest chairman one Balfe, I got a direction to your g—'s house, and enquired with great coolness and indifference where your g—'s friseur lived, and where your late mistress's enameller. To be sure the porter gave me the directions very civilly, but he laughed till his sides almost burst, not conceiving what could be my business with these gentry. How-

ever

ever I soon found out *Monf. de* — your *g* — —'s friseur. — I told him I heard him and his associates, the white washers, the powderers and enamellers had got all the lottery tickets, and that I should be glad to make him some small allowance for fifty, though I had expected to get them at the Exchequer. To my astonishment, the Frenchman fell into a furious passion, and I verily thought would have laid violent hands on me. D—n the scoundrel, cries he—me no addresser, me no white-washer of black deeds, me love little flattery, go great way with lord and lady, but me will not tell lies against the country where me get my bread, me was born in a despotic country and forced to leave it for to have liberty, now me have found it, me will enjoy it, and stick by it, me bethe Wilkes and liberty man ; but if you want your d—d gallows top off and your hair frized a-la-mode de Paris, for one quarter of a guinea, me, will make you that your own wife shall not know you.

Your petitioner finding he had got into a fresh mistake, retired with some confusion to a coffee-house in the neighbourhood, where seeing an elderly gentleman in a box alone, who appeared to have an air of good nature, he ventured to ask him the true meaning of the term *addressers*, resolved to prevent if possible all sorts of blunders for the future, by asking the advice of a gentleman whose education and knowledge of the town might set him right. Honest friend, said the gentleman, I suppose you have lately been dipping into politicks, you will excuse my freedom, you look like a plain, sober, industrious countryman, whose province perhaps is that of tilling the ground or cultivating the fruits of the earth, take my advice, pursue your vocation with alacrity, and do not let public affairs either bewilder your imagination, or divert your thoughts from the duty of your station, it will not make one blade of grass more grow in your fields, whether Wilkes or Bute get the better, in the present contest between government and the people : but lest I should mistake your intention in putting the question, which may go further than idle political discussions, I will answer it according to the best of my judgment.

Formerly it was the custom that the nobility, gentry and clergy, with all the principal inhabitants of every county, and all corporations, addressed the throne upon any imminent danger threatening the state, such as the invasion of a foreign enemy, or on well founded apprehensions of such an event, or in case of an actual rebellion at home ; upon these occasions it was usual to make a sincere tender of their lives and fortunes in the service of the crown and of their country, this was but a confirmation or repetition of their allegiance
in

in all those who by their birth or offices in the state are obliged to take the oath of allegiance, but from the body of the people possessing property, it was a strong assurance given to the throne of firm succour and support in great emergencies, inasmuch as having signed their names to these addresses, they could not with honour retract from so solemn an engagement. Of late years addresses of another kind have been frequent, which may properly be stiled compliments of congratulation, or of condolance upon particular events happening in the royal family as births, marriages and deaths. And within these few months we have seen a new species of addresses arise. The conduct of administration being open to free enquiry, that of the present m——y has been handled pretty roughly, and frequent provocatives having been thrown out, to incense the people, matters have been carried to acts of outrage and personal affront to ministerial dignity; proceeding from repeated misconduct in the a——n, who have attacked some of the darling privileges of the people, and have seconded their measures by violence and oppression, making use of their destructive influence over the representatives of the people to engage them in determinations and decisions that endanger the safety of the constitution; and finding that after all, the odium of the people still continued to encrease; and that the more secure they were of carrying their point in p——t, the more suspected and detested were their characters. They found out a method of forcing a kind of involuntary approbation, by procuring a set of addresses to the throne, in which their opponents should be stiled the authors of sedition, and the person and government of the K—— should be represented as in a state of danger, because a few meetings had been quietly held in support of the legal constitutional rights of the people against m——l encroachments. At the same time the usual professions were made in them of attachment to his M—— and a firm resolution to sacrifice life and fortune in support of his government: when it is well known the people were never more affectionately inclined to their K—— and to the constitutional government of this country, which they however are of opinion has not been properly maintained; and therefore they instructed their representatives in a constitutional manner to endeavour to obtain a redress of grievances; these instructions from several parts of the kingdom growing formidable to the m——y, addresses were procured to counter-act them, and they have produced the wished for effect in behalf of the ministry; they have effectually stiled the instructions. Of all those addresses, that which made the most noise, and was obtained with the greatest difficulty

ficulty was, that of the merchants of London. A part of these on carrying up their address were insulted by the populace; and to make them amends the m——r who has the management of the treasury has just given them by way of douceur, the profits of a subscription which was declared to be public and open to every good subject, I mean the subscription to the lottery for this year. Upon hearing this, I wanted no further information; and calling for pen, ink and paper, I wrote to my employers in the country, the whole state of the case, desiring them to send me fresh instructions, and a remittance, the cash they had furnished me with being insufficient, as tickets were now no less than fourteen pounds seven shillings. I was necessarily detained in town till the answer arrived. But, good God! How was I surprized to find my veracity and even my integrity called in question by my neighbours, with whom I had hitherto preserved the best reputation.

They wrote to me, that it was incredible that any m——y should dare to gull the people in so glaring a manner, that they had considered the first premium of three pounds, as a very extraordinary advance, and a means of setting the people a gaming at a very high rate, but that as it was for the good of the K—— and they could not expect any other method would be devised by a jockey first L——d of the t——y, they had waved that circumstance, but that they could not think it possible that people should be such fools as to add two pounds more to reward a set of k——and fawning sycophants. That if there was any spirit left in this land of liberty, the people would sooner fling their money into the sea than purchase the tickets at such an exorbitant price. That those who had been befriended with them at first, had undoubtedly made themselves responsible to government, and consequently the good K—— would not fall short of the intended supply, if not a single ticket was bought by the people, from them or their agents. If say they, the supporters of the bill of rights are in earnest, they will use their best endeavours to prevent the sale of tickets so infamously procured, and so exorbitantly enhanced.

But an insinuation in the postscript hurt your petitioner more than all the rest, I was given to understand that I ought to make the best of my way home again with the money, or it would be suspected this was all a *hum*, and that I was only negotiating by letter, in order to gain time to abscond with the cash.

Struck with indignation and anguish, I repaired to the city in search of some of the addressers in order to get them to vouch for the truth of the facts, and hearing that C——s
D——y

D—y a man who keeps a saw-mill was one, I concluded from his business, he was a downright plain fellow, with whom I could chat freely; but to my mortification I found he was a fine stiff-necked fellow and as proud as a lord, he rudely denied that he knew any thing about the tickets. I applied to some others whom I found on the stool of repentance, damning the tickets to h—ll and wishing they could have retracted their signatures. Others were raving about their rich cloaths and their carriages, as they call their coaches and chariots, the first being spoiled with mud and dung flung at them, and the latter broke to pieces by the incensed people as they went up with the address. In short I was told in general, that the tickets were now in the alley, and all refused to sign any such foolish certificate.

Your petitioner therefore is under a necessity of applying to your G— and L— N— for reparation of honour; and humbly prays your lordship to grant him a certificate in due form out of the t—y, specifying that indeed an empty advertisement was inserted, like many others composed by you and your tools, to amuse the people, purporting that tickets would be delivered at the Exchequer at thirteen pounds, but that it was only a form, or as they say in law, a chicane of office; and also inserting a small list of the meritorious friends of the nation, whom you obliged with them, that I may shew it to my countrymen—perhaps several of them were delivered to the C— in C— to distribute among the half pay officers, who have ventured their lives, and bear honourable scars, in their country's service, if this should be the case, why all's well that ends well, and I will endeavour to persuade my friends to take them off their hands, that those brave men may have a profit on them.

Your petitioner humbly hopes your lordships will be pleased of your princely generosity, to reimburse him the value of his foundered horse, and all the other expences he has been at, in consequence of a m—l advertisement, in which case he promises never to believe one again, as long as he lives. Or if you can spare fifty tickets, please to direct them for me, under cover to the Editor of the Political Register, who will pay for them at sight.

And your Petitioner, as in Duty bound, shall ever pray.

To the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

THE grand contest carried on by the friends of administration and the friends of the people, between whom we must make a wide distinction, while government draws one way, and the body of the nation another, turns

principally on one point. Are the measures of the present administration spirited, brave, manly, honest and generous ; becoming the character of the ministers of the most formidable, most opulent, free state in Europe ? Or are they the measures of a weak, unexperienced, puerile, obstinate tyrannical set of despicable tools and agents, fit only to be the instruments of heaven's vengeance to punish a guilty land, sunk into the accustomary sloth, indolence, and insensibility, which accompany unlimited luxury, and render it subservient to the capricious will of an incensed, disappointed, ambitious woman impatient of rule, and determined to govern, if not in virtue of her own right, yet by means of a crafty insinuating second ? The people have long believed from every state operation, that this darling second has acted as principal in all the private duels which have been fought of late with ministerial weapons, in which the friends of public virtue, of the liberties of the people, and the true felicity of their S—— have been shamefully attacked by hired assassins. The great E— of B——, and the little D— of G—— put us in a mind of a scene at a puppet shew, when the boy who moved the puppets was greatly embarrassed by a certain circumstance which occurred in the representation of the piece. It was necessary to represent a fall of snow, upon which occasion the boy called out to his master—master, master, what shall I do for the snow, I have no white paper ?—why snow away with brown, and be d——d to you. Upon which the company were unexpectedly entertained with a fall of brown snow. Now from some former innocent and indeed praise worthy actions of the little boy duke, we have great reason to think that, before he enlisted under the banners of the Scotch commander in chief of the state puppets, it was his intention to have represented things in their natural state. He not only knew, but meant to distinguish between white and brown, or black, till his new master taught him to forget the difference, to pervert the natural order of things, and constantly to represent every scene of action in false colours. When his G— followed the unbiassed dictates of his own conscience, he walked with the glorious minority who disapproved the conditions of the peace ; he then saw distinctly the opening blossoms of the fair tree of liberty, he fostered them with the sun-shine of his interest, and he promised to lend every powerful aid to bring the fruit to maturity. He was not only the patron of a persecuted, free-born Englishman, who had dared to publish his sentiments on that inglorious peace, but his eloquence was displayed as a senator in the cause of freedom upon every occasion. But no sooner did he listen to the Syren voice of the
char-

charmer, the f—serpent who proffered him that golden apple, the t—y than he tasted, eat, and from that instant was lost to every sense of public virtue, and to every tender feeling for the rights and privileges of his fellow subjects. He now called forth the Northern blast to wither the fair blossoms of liberty, which no longer retained their snowy whiteness, the emblem of innocence and truth, in the eyes of this changeling; but appeared of a dusky, unwholesome hue, fading and dropping from every branch; and at length he began to perceive that the tree itself was unsound, which determined him to lay the axe to its root, to hew it down and cast it away, that it might no longer encumber his master's ground. At that crisis, fired with a glorious and generous concern, the brave, intrepid, independent sons of freedom entwined themselves around their parent stock, determined to defend it against the deadly blow of blind fury, and despotic delusion, and as they had not been charmed out of their senses, they gloriously resolved to support its right to a chief seat in the vineyard, and to petition the lord of the vineyard to bear with it a little longer, assuring him, that both root and branch were yet in their primitive vigour and would yield him fruit in abundance in due season; if he would be pleased to commit the future management of it to a more skilful husbandman, who would employ honest and diligent servants to guard and preserve it night and day, from the chilling frost of the north wind, and from the suffocation of the southern heats. The little boy duke, determined at all events to preserve his post of chief labourer in the vineyard, fails not to correspond with his master, the head dresser of the vineyard (who had retired to a far distant region, to be cured of the wound he had received in pruning the tree of liberty) and receives from him instructions to use every means in his power to prevent the success of such a dangerous petition, justly observing, "that though a part of the people might be deluded and bribed out of their senses, yet when the numerous tribes of free and independent Britons shall once get audience of the lord of the vineyard, and fairly prove to him that we have borne a constant enmity to these friends of the tree of liberty, and have misrepresented the state and condition of the whole vineyard, his eyes will be opened and he will discover that for want of white paper, we have been all along snowing away with brown." The little boy duke thus instructed from abroad, and tutored at home by his master's legion of mercenary counsellors, once more resolves to tack about, and endeavour to persuade the people, that he is really at the bottom a firm friend to the tree of liberty, that he is still capable of per-

ceiving her lively blossoms, and that he is resolved to cherish them ; but he observes at the same time, that it is necessary to place a screen before her, to preserve the tender fruit from the scorching heat of the southern sun ; this screen, says he, must be of such a peculiar construction, that it may properly intersect and divide the rays of that all cheering luminary ; in short it must prevent the too near approach of that great body of light and warmth not only to the tree itself, but to its supporters ; for though its morning influence was congenial and fostering, its intense heat at its meridian of power, will parch up the very ground around it, and destroy the first intention of the benevolent supporters, who meant to strengthen the ancient tree by the reanimating rays of the sun, interposing at the same time their friendly shade, to defend it from the noxious exhalations proceeding from its fiery heat. Let us make of those supporters our political screen ; and being once convinced of the necessity of diminishing the sun's power, we shall be able occasionally to let in a *northern blighter*, which by degrees may prevent the rays of the sun having sufficient influence to pierce through this screen, so as to communicate the least kindly, social warmth to the tree of liberty. This scheme meeting with universal approbation, but principally from the great men of the law, was put in immediate execution, and the supporters of the tree of liberty having fallen into the snare, became by some strange means or other, instantly convinced of the necessity of placing a screen before the sun, to intercept its generous warmth, under a pretext of diminishing its too intense heat ; and ever since, we have heard little or nothing worthy of notice either of the sun or its screen.

Matters being thus settled, and the old tree suffered to remain in the vineyard, but in a feeble, declining state, the little boy duke still continues head labourer, and keeps grubbing on with the same clod pated companions. But a strange whim having lately come into their heads in order to preserve possession, it is necessary to caution not only the lord of the vineyard, but all who are affectionately attached to it, against a new stretch of political artifice. The little boy duke has lately hired a set of day labourers to run about the country to proclaim in every street and village, that he and all his friends have just got possession of a large quantity of white paper, (when God knows, there is not a single sheet among the whole company) and that they are determined for the future to represent things in their true and proper colours, for the good of the nation both at home and abroad to the entire satisfaction of all spectators. The first new piece they

say is to consist of a grand *bal paré*, in which the people of North America will be the principal performers, they will be all clothed in the best manufactures of Great Britain, and will be attended by a grand chorus of British merchants singing the jubilate and coronation anthems on their deliverance from taxes and troops. Heaven grant the duke's company may be able to get things in readiness by the beginning of next winter ! For which season, this performance is already advertised by two or three of the duke's bill pasters. I tremble for the consequences, if any disappointment should happen, should the Americans unhappily appear in dresses of their own manufacture, and be accompanied by men, women and children in rags, collected together from our manufacturing towns. And should the band of Colonists sing a solemn dirge, expressing their abject state, surrounded by a military force, and exhausted by the burden of their taxes—This will be snowing away with brown so effectually, that I am afraid the incensed spectators will pull the house down, and burn all the state puppets, together with their managers.

We are told by one *Vindex* another of these day labourers, that the opponents of the royal wax-work company have caught the infection, and occasionally snow away with brown. “ Thus for instance, they spread a report concerning a quadruple alliance on the continent, and imposed upon the world for facts what were no more than their own crude suppositions upon a subject too far beyond their reach to be distinctly understood. The supposed terms of the treaty were too material not to alarm every Briton fond of his country's independence, constitution and government. The emperor, with a warmth natural to a young and warlike prince, being determined to repossess himself of the hereditary dominions of his family, Lorraine and Alsace, had long employed his thoughts upon the best means to obtain the object of his desire. To wrest these countries from France was a difficult, and, perhaps an impossible thing. Separated from Germany it was not easy to support a war in Lorraine against a powerful army, to whose whole force that province lay open. He therefore (continued the author of the report) resolved to cede to the French, Austrian Flanders, in lieu of his paternal dominions on the South side of the Rhine. As the rich province of Flanders, was more than equivalent for Lorraine and Alsace ; part of the Pope's dominions, it was said, were to be enlarged and made over to the Imperial family. The king of Prussia acceded to this treaty from views of his own. Silesia was absolutely guarantied to him by France and Austria, together

gether with what conquests he might make in Poland during the disturbances of that country. Spain was to be gratified with the remaining part of the Pope's dominions, it being resolved to confine the bishop of Rome entirely to his spirituality.

Such were the conditions of an alliance offensive and defensive, which *perhaps*, existed only in the distempered brains of coffee-house politicians. Had it actually taken place, it would in fact realize that high opinion we have *unjustly* entertained of the abilities of the French in negotiation; and be the greatest blow that Great Britain ever received. The fertility of Flanders, the industry of its inhabitants, its numerous rivers and excellent harbour of *Ostend*, in the hands of the French, would soon raise their nation to the pinnacle of commerce, and give them those resources of money, of which, happily for us, they are now destitute by the mismanagement of their domestic revenue. The story of the treaty bore on its face the appearance of fiction from the extreme weakness it would betray in the emperor's councils. It would be ridiculous in Austria to hope to be able to retain Lorraine and Alsace, one moment beyond the pleasure of the court of Versailles. The Rhine which forms now a strong and natural barrier to the French dominions, would effectually exclude the armies of Austria from the ceded provinces, or furnish easy means to the French to cut off their convoys, and the whole must, in the course of one campaign, fall into the hands of France."

This is all the account we have from Vindex of this treaty, which he supposes was fabricated only in the brains of coffee house politicians, but which, *perhaps*, may alarm Great Britain by its real existence and the operation of its effects, much sooner than we imagine. In fact what has Vindex done to prove that no such alliance has been made, or to invalidate the supposed terms of the treaty. He has only endeavoured to point out its improbability, from this imaginary circumstance of his own creation, that it would betray a weakness in the emperor's councils. As we are not therefore informed by authority that this quadruple alliance did not take place, nor yet that no such terms were made a part of the treaty: we may freely reason on the probability of such a treaty, and if we can make it appear to be sound policy and a proof of the wisdom of the emperor's councils, it will then only remain to shew, that there is all the reason in the world to apprehend that this treaty, if it has not actually taken place, is not laid aside, nor has been in any measure prevented by the skill and influence of the present a——n.

It is allowed by Vindex, that the cession of the Austrian Netherlands to France, would be the greatest blow that Britain ever felt, in this we are intirely agreed, for France possessed of the ports of *Ostend* and *Newport* in aid to the port of Dunkirk, would be so entirely master of all the Flemish coast, that our merchant men in time of war would be continually falling into the hands of their privateers. And in time of peace, the inhabitants of the Austrian Netherlands freed from the burthenome restraints laid on their internal trade and foreign commerce by the mismanagement of their present council of finances, would in all probability recover their ancient commercial spirit, and revive that extensive correspondence which they formerly carried on with great success to all quarters of the globe. They might likewise, by the encouragement of the French, regain the ascendancy in the woollen manufactories, the cheapness of

of provisions joined to their industry, would soon complete this grand object, which is now in very great forwardness, (for broad cloths have been lately made in Austrian Flanders worth seventeen shillings per yard) were the impolitic restraints laid on trade by the Austrian government taken off. Vindex is right, when he asserts that France would find in this country, resources for money; for as incredible as it may appear, it is an undoubted fact, that it furnished the empress queen, its sovereign, in the course of last war, with no less than *seven millions sterling*. But it must be remembered, that it was not then the seat of war, whenever that was the case, it was always an expensive and troublesome territory to the house of Austria, being situated at so great a distance from the rest of her dominions, and so contiguous to those of France. Is it at all improbable then that the emperor should be desirous of exchanging this country for his hereditary dominions of Lorraine and Alsace? The difficulty of settling the equivalent is easily got over between sovereign princes in such close alliance as the emperor and the king of France. And as to the emperor's holding Lorraine and Alsace at the good pleasure of the court of Versailles, it has no weight whatever when we consider the avowed advantage it would be to France to get possession of Austrian Flanders, we cannot suppose she would be so impolitic at any time, as to break through the treaty through which she gained it, by molesting the emperor in the enjoyment of Lorraine and Alsace.

What then should hinder this grand object of the quadruple alliance from taking place? Vindex makes no objection to the probability of the king of Prussia's acceding to it, and we are well assured that our present m——y have no interest with him, to dissuade him from any action that may be disadvantageous to this kingdom. We have likewise one strong reason to believe that Austrian Flanders will be ceded or sold to France. The French minister who resides at Brussels, the capital of that country, has an unbounded influence there; nothing material is done by the government of that country, without the sanction of the court of Versailles; the British influence, with her commerce, is totally lost; the facility of transporting heavy artillery, and warlike stores from French Flanders to the very port of Ostend, has lately been provided for, by a noble paved road conducted over a swampy morass, at an immense expence, to open the communication almost in a direct line from Lille to Ostend. The inhabitants in general throughout all Austrian Flanders, ardently wish to be under the dominion of France, and take the greatest pains to cultivate the French manners and customs, and to ingratiate themselves with that people. These circumstances combined, we must not be surprized if it should appear that we are now on the very eve of seeing this treaty accomplished, at least so far as it respects the exchange of Flanders. Indeed we are induced to believe, that not only this but some other disagreeable measures are in agitation on the continent with respect to this kingdom, from the number of messengers dispatched lately to various European powers, some with remonstrances, and others with demands and requisitions of a very peremptory nature; it is therefore a deception to tell us that the peace will be of any long duration, or that alliances and treaties have been prevented, which we shall very soon have the mortification to see carried into execution.

But

But we are told by this Vindex, who is evidently furnished with materials to display the abilities of his master, "that the eyes of the French court have been long turned another way, that they do not so much as think of the Austrian Netherlands, but are bent on encreasing their trade, and of course their marine, and have employed the whole policy of their councils in intrigues of the Ottoman court. From them arose the present flame between the Russians and Turks; and they hope that the latter will give them some valuable cessions upon the coast of Syria for helping them to extinguish it. A circumstance of that kind would not only throw into their hands the trade of the Mediterranean, but also enable them to encrease to any degree they think fit, their commerce to the Levant." So ridiculous and so stupid a piece of information, given in such poor language that it is scarce intelligible, hardly merits notice, except as a convincing proof what mean shifts the m—y are driven to, in order to make it appear they have been doing something more than oppressing their fellow subjects at home and in the colonies. It may not be amiss to call on Vindex for some authentic voucher in support of this bold assertion—"that from the French arose the present flame between the Russians and the Turks."—It is beneath the dignity of their ambassador here to answer news paper abuse, yet when it aims at deceiving a whole nation on so important a point it is necessary it should not pass unnoticed. Vindex therefore is thus publickly called upon to declare on what authority he grounds his assertion, and till he produces a good one, it is humbly hoped the generous and candid of this nation, who are not concerned in the infamous practice of puffing for the m—r will consider it as a gross imposition.—Since neither the Czarina's declaration of the causes of the rupture, nor the London gazette, nor any of the foreign prints have given the least insinuation, that the war between the Russians and the Turks was brought on by the intrigues of the French at the Ottoman Porte. This is of a piece with that infamous falsehood which the same writer has endeavoured to stamp with the authority of truth by daring to make use of the name of the first minister of France. For which insolence he will be properly chastised if he dares to appear under his real signature.

He affirms, "that the duke de Choiseul perceived that a clamour about Corsica was not sufficient to amuse a ministry, that had displayed parts superior to their predecessors in office. He knew that the love of emolument was so prevalent among an excluded faction, that he resolved by private means, to soment contests about places of profit, that might be useful to his own political schemes. He knew the necessity of a few knaves, who were made engines by faction to enflame the multitude against administration. He had a very fit agent in the capital, a person who by pretended quarrels with his own nation, has had the address to make the public believe him averse to her interests. This person was not suspected, and the wages of iniquity passed with propriety through his hands." We are to suppose that this unsuspected person is no other than the Chevalier D'Eon. What a poor

poor contemptible situation is the present m——y reduced ? is it possible for any man in his senses to believe that the court of France after what has passed between that court and Mons. D'Eon would trust the most trifling of her concerns in his hands ? Is there the least degree of probability that the discerning Choiseul would confide to him the important office of attempting to corrupt some of the most respectable characters in this kingdom, whom Vindex describes as an excluded faction ? Does it appear that the leaders of opposition to ministerial measures are contending for places of profit ? No, let the Political Register inform the world, that offices of profit have been proffered to them, on condition they would abandon the grand objects of their contests—the rights and privileges of the people. And that they are now in such circumstances of ease and affluence, that it would betray a weakness in the councils of France to tempt them by any offers of emoluments. Be pleased also to acquaint Vindex that his endeavours to impose on mankind, and to establish the imaginary importance of his pay matters must prove abortive, for it is but too well known that the abilities of the Duke de Choiseul are so superior to those of the D— of G—n, that he stands in no need of such a political subterfuge, as to divert his G——e's attention from his operations, by fomenting sedition in this capital. The case is so very different, that the Duke de Choiseul openly takes what measures he thinks proper, calls upon the D— of G—— to look on, and then openly tells him, he has neither capacity, interest nor influence, to prevent their taking place in any part of Europe. The safety of these kingdoms and the preservation of them from the calamities of war depend on the placing at the head of affairs men of superior abilities to the Duke de Choiseul, who may be able to recover the lost influence of Great Britain with the several states of Europe.

One remark more, and then we will consign the letter of Vindex in the Public Advertiser, dated May 8, to eternal oblivion. He first takes upon him to say, that the French made an attempt upon Corsica without any serious intention to conquer that island; and that they *fore-kindled* a mock war against the contemptible inhabitants of a contemptible and poor island : And towards the close of his letter he has the following extraordinary passage.

“ If the authors of sedition here, have been privately encouraged from abroad, the defender of the liberty of Corsica has been as privately, and with much more honour, supported from this country.” Really Mr. Vindex's *if* is of great use at the head of this paragraph, as it puts a very good negative upon the whole. The friends of liberty whom he calls the authors of sedition, have not, nor could they in the nature of things have any encouragement from abroad—nor could that ministry, who looked upon the inhabitants of Corsica as a contemptible people, and the island itself as a poor contemptible place, against which the French were only carrying on a mock war, possibly think of assisting privately and honourably the brave defenders of the liberties of Corsica. It is incompatible with the principles of their grand

master the E— of B—, whose mandates they are bound to obey, and we all know that that great enemy to the civil rights of mankind gave to the brave Corsicans the opprobrious epithet of *rebels*. But the real friends of freedom, whom the despicable Vindex terms the authors of sedition, have in fact generously supported the great Paoli, have received from him a polite letter of thanks for the sum of three thousand pounds, and are now engaged in procuring him further assistance. 'Till such an article shall appear on the t—y minutes, do not let the people be amused by this right hon. Vindicator of the D— of G— whose letters in the papers, are of a piece with his pamphlet, calculated to impose on the understandings and judgment of the nation, and are nothing more than false representations—showers of brown snow.

R.

The King's most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament on Tuesday, May 9th 1769, when the parliament was prorogued to Wednesday the 24th of June.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

HAVING thought it necessary to give so early a commencement to the present session of parliament, I am glad to find, that by your zeal and assiduity, in the dispatch of the public business, I am now enabled to relieve you from your attendance, before the season of the year is too far advanced.

I cannot put an end to the session, without expressing My entire approbation of your conduct, and thanking you for that clear demonstration, which your proceedings, through the whole course of the session, have afforded to all the world of the affectionate attachment of My parliament to My person and government, as well as of their steady adherence to the true interest of their country.

It was with much satisfaction that I observed your particular attention to those great national objects, which, at the opening of the session, I recommended to your more immediate consideration. The result of your deliberations, respecting the late acquisitions in the East Indies, has shewn, that you were not more attentive to the immediate benefit arising therefrom in point of revenue, than to the securing, at all events, the permanent commercial interests of this country, and guarding against every possible discouragement to our own manufactures, and to the industry of My subjects. What more remains to be done, for securing the possession of those valuable acquisitions, you will, I doubt not, proceed to provide for, with all convenient dispatch, at your next meeting.

The measures which I had taken regarding the late unhappy disturbances in North America, have been already laid before you. They have received your approbation; and you have assured Me of your firm support in the prosecution of them. Nothing, in my opinion, could be more likely to enable the well disposed among my subjects, in that part of the world, effectually to discourage

courage and defeat the designs of the factious and seditious, than the hearty concurrence of every branch of the legislature, in the resolution of maintaining the execution of the laws in every part of my dominions. And there is nothing I more ardently wish for, than to see it produce that good effect.

With respect to foreign affairs, My own determination, as well as the assurances given me by the other powers of Europe, continue the same, as I communicated to you at the beginning of this session; And, however unsuccessful my attempts have proved for preventing the unfortunate rupture which has happened between Russia and the Porte, I shall not fail to use my good offices towards restoring peace between those powers; and I trust that the calamities of war will not extend to any other part of Europe.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

My particular thanks are due to you, as well for the supplies which you have granted me for the service of the current year, as for the provision you have made for enabling me to discharge the debt incurred upon account of my civil government. Your readiness in relieving Me from the difficulties encreasing upon Me from the continuance of that debt, I shall ever consider as an additional motive for me to endeavour to confine the expence of my civil government within such bounds as the honour of my crown can possibly admit.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It gives Me great concern, to be obliged to recommend to you, with more than ordinary earnestness, that you would all, in your several counties, exert your utmost efforts for the maintenance of public peace, and of good order among My people. You must be sensible, that whatever obstructs, in any degree, the regular execution of the laws, or weakens the authority of the magistrate, must lessen the only security, which My people can have for the undisturbed enjoyment of their rights and liberties. From your endeavours in this common cause, I promise Myself the most salutary effect; on My part, no countenance or support shall be wanting; for as I have ever made, and ever shall make, our excellent constitution the rule of my own conduct, so shall I always consider it as equally my duty to exert every power, with which that constitution has entrusted me, for preserving it safe from violation of every kind; being fully convinced, that in so doing, I shall most effectually provide for the true interest and happiness of my people.

To the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

I Consider the political campaign on the part of the ministry, as closed with the session of parliament; from the moment of the prorogation, the friends of administration begin to triumph, and to think their patrons secure of a permanency in office; re-

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lying

lying on these flattering prospects, we generally find that they make a few bold attacks on their opponents, and then found a retreat for the summer season. Whoever examines the writings of the advocates for the present ministry with attention, during the course of last winter, will find a languid timidity in their style; arising from conscious inferiority, while the most animated spirit of eloquence, and the strongest efforts of the human genius, have been distinguishable in their opponents, whose evident superiority is founded on the goodness of their cause, which is no less than the defence of the most valuable rights and privileges of their countrymen against the arbitrary encroachments of ministerial power. But alas, sir, the scene is now changed; for within these few days, every hireling scribber, in and out of office, has been pouring forth a torrent of abuse against the friends of the natural and civil rights of mankind; and at the same time, the most fallacious hopes and promises are thrown out as lures to lull the people into profound security and repose, during the summer season. We are informed by two different writers, that the ministry having reduced the colonies to a due state of submission and obedience to the mother country, the taxes, which have been long deemed impolitic and inexpedient, will be taken off, and that the Americans may expect from the indulgence of government, what they never would have been able to extort by obstinate resistance. It is acknowledged by the same gentlemen, that their patrons have been so fully employed in suppressing riots, tumults, and seditious proceedings, that they have not had time to give the necessary attention to affairs on the continent. But now the halcyon days of domestic tranquility being arrived, and every measure being completed, which was necessary to remove their own personal fears for their h—s, their offices, their salaries, or their pensions; we are told, that by the prudence, activity, and resolution of the D— of G—, all our concerns with the European powers will be put on a respectable footing. Being a little incredulous on this head, and having reason to apprehend that these promises will not be fulfilled, during the recess of parliament, but that on the contrary we shall find both our domestic and foreign affairs in a much worse situation at the opening of the next session of parliament than they are at present, permit me, through the channel of your useful record of political events, to enquire on what grounds we are to expect these conciliating measures with respect to the affairs of America, or these active and prudent exertions of the spirit and bravery of Britons, in our negotiations on the continent. I have examined with the closest attention, the only ministerial production, which is allowed to wear the stamp of authenticity, and to which alone full credit is expected to be given by the nation. And I do not find the least reason to expect the desirable events which the court writers have described, as not far distant. To say nothing of this performance, as it is not expected that ministers of state should descend so low as to dictate or compose *good English*, in these days, when every thing that bears that title is out of date, I observe that it chiefly

chiefly dwells on domestic occurrences, such as the affectionate attachment of parliament,—the prudent management of the agreement with the East-India-company;—the generous provision made for the discharge of the civil list debt;—a strong recommendation to those who have it most in their power, to exert their utmost efforts to maintain the public peace;—and a most inestimable declaration,—that the supreme power of this kingdom will be exerted, in preserving our excellent constitution safe from violation of every kind. But with respect to America, I cannot trace the least foundation for a belief that so total a change of measures will take place, as the ministerial writers have promised, from what authority I know not, in their letters inserted in the public papers of last week. For the measures already taken are noticed, as having met with the approbation of parliament, and are declared to have been the most proper to discourage and defeat the designs of the factious and seditious, and to maintain the execution of the laws. These measures we well know have consisted of attempts to enforce obedience and submission to the taxes imposed on the Americans; measures which they themselves, and the writers in their cause at home have mentioned, as coercive. And yet, though this strong approbation of measures, now actually operating the salutary effects just recited, must undoubtedly give sanction to their continuance, we are told by anonymous scribblers, that the late taxes on glass, paper, &c. on their importation in America, have long been considered by the present ministry as oppressive, and will certainly be repealed at the opening of the next session of parliament. These writers will pardon me if I refuse to give any credit to their bare assertions, in contradiction to the most authentic intelligence that can be given to this kingdom, on the state of public affairs. Besides sir, I observe with concern in the same public papers, that the wild project of episcopizing America is not laid aside, but that one gentleman in particular is in expectation of the mitre, and has given his opinion that Philadelphia will be the proper place of episcopal residence. History points out to us, that infringements on the religious rights of a free people, have produced more fatal effects, than the violation of their civil liberties; and I am afraid no conciliating plan with the Americans can possibly take place, while we think of introducing among them a species of church government, to avoid the jurisdiction of which, their ancestors fled from England. So long, therefore, as I hear of the proposed appointment of a bishop for America, I shall look upon all hopes of a thorough reconciliation between the colonies and the mother country, as placed at a much greater distance than ever.

With respect to the important transactions of the powers of Europe, no farther notice is taken of them, from good authority, than that they continue in the same situation they were at the beginning of the winter,—the war between the Turks and Russians excepted. But the ministers with unparalleled effrontery, have acknowledged that the administration has not had leisure, from the turbulence

bulence of the times at home, to give that necessary attention to the affairs of Europe, which they required. I know not how to construe this seeming concession, unless we should suppose that the attempts, which proved unsuccessful, to prevent the rupture between the Russians and the Porte, were rendered so, by this allowed want of attention in the ministry. Their writers might have employed themselves more satisfactorily, if they had laid before the public a state of the negotiations, or efforts that were used for preventing the flame of war from breaking out in any part, which may extend to all Europe. And of all possible evils in our present debilitated situation, the worst that could befall this country, would be the calamity of a war, in which she should find it necessary to engage, either as an ally or principal. Surely therefore, it would better become a ministry, disposed to quiet the minds of the people, who are likely very soon to turn their attention also, from domestic to foreign events, to employ those pens which are constantly at their devotion, in laying before the public some account of the contents of dispatches from our ministers in foreign parts, especially in those from whence any rupture may probably be expected. The silence observed concerning the present disposition of the P—— monarch with respect to this country, seems alarming, for though frequent mention has been made of dispatches received from our minister at the court of B——, and of councils held thereupon, yet I do not find that any thing has transpired, which tends to give the public the least information relative to the designs of that politic prince; though there is great reason to presume that something extraordinary is in agitation, as it is reported, that Sir A—— M——, who always stood high in the esteem and confidence of his P—— M——, is recalled. Formerly we used to be well informed of all the political motions on the continent, at present both the m——y and the people seem absorbed in party disputes, it is therefore high time to awaken them from their lethargy, and in particular, to desire the real friends of their country to be vigilant in observing all the motions of our rivals and ancient enemies the French, in the course of this summer, when the recess of parliament gives us time to breathe, after our domestic broils; for it is much to be feared they have bestowed their time and attention on the most important objects. While we have had sufficient employment in defending the rights and privileges of the people, and in supporting the internal administration of government, they have been forming new, and strengthening old alliances, and have been gradually increasing their maritime strength, which it is now reported is designed to molest us in our Asiatic settlements. In this situation of things, we cannot better employ our time, than by considering of the resources of war, while we are yet at peace, and the only way to enable us to find funds for the exigencies of the state in case of a rupture, is to countenance and support those ministers alone, who give the greatest encouragement to the manufactures and commerce of this country, from whence its riches are derived. If then a per-
 manency

manency in office is expected by the present administration, fail not constantly to remind them of the promises made lately by their writers, and urge them speedily to take off those duties imposed on the Americans, which stop the free current of commerce, and prevent the full employment of our manufacturers and mariners.

May 23d.

T.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

Letter from a distinguished Personage to the Right Hon. Samuel Turner, Esq; Lord-Mayor of LONDON.

My Lord,

I Think myself happy in the midst of my philosophic retirement, from those scenes in which you are now engaged, to have it in my power, *sincerely*, to congratulate you on your steady adherence to the exalted principles of justice, freedom, and independence.

At a time when I little expected to see your lordship called forth so soon, or at so critical a juncture, to the highest order of magistracy in the greatest city in the world; even then, my lord, you may well remember that I endeavoured to heighten and increase the noble complexion of your political sentiments, by that contagious ardour of conversation, and that powerful sympathy of virtuous feelings, which have ever distinguished a character in other respects but little worthy of public notice.—Possessed but of a small estate, which has fortunately escaped the profusion of my predecessors, I am resolved to cling to this little wreck, and in a calm retreat, to prove to an insolent, luxurious, and abject Aristocracy, that one smile from a great and a free people, the approbation of my own conscience, with a frugal and unaffected simplicity of manners, can yield *me* more real happiness than all the favours than can be procured through the channel of prostitute policy, or a worthless *favourite*.

Descended, as I am, from those Henrys and Edwards, whose names are industriously brought into the pedigrees of a proud nobility, I have a higher ambition than to be known to stand among the nearest to a royal family, I aspire to the rank of those princes, whose lives and characters, whose noble sentiments entitle them, *indeed*, to be exalted; and to receive respect and authority from men.

It is not the immemorial nobility of my family, its alliances with a weak and wicked race of tyrants, its ancient splendour and authority, nor the flattery of my partial acquaintances, with respect to my learning or character, that can give me, my lord, any real satisfaction. It is the love of justice, order, and virtue, by which I have been penetrated and smitten from my earliest youth, that fills me with joy and triumph; supported by these, and by the glorious fountain of them, methinks I could endure the greatest calamities. Indeed I have had some reason to say so, the loss of my most excellent father, the sordid and ungrateful conduct of those who ought to have comforted me in my afflictions,

ons, the little artful calumnies of my enemies, and a thousand circumstances, which I forbear even to mention, have proved to me the grandeur and efficacy of that divine philosophy of the soul, which the great Algernon Sidney defined to be the essence of the *best religion*. Yet, notwithstanding these great palladiums of ease and happiness, I will honestly confess to your lordship, that my solitary situation, and the contemplation of the distresses, which the daily relaxing morals of my countrymen, must bring upon them, sink me greatly, and I have no domestic intercourses of tenderness and confidence, to soften and mitigate the little irritating pains that arise from much mingling with society; farewell, my lord, and be assured that none can be with a better founded consideration and esteem,

Your lordship's most obedient
and obliged servant,

B.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

Copy of a Letter from a distinguished Personage to James Otis, Esq; at Boston, in New England.

S I R

I Have not been an unfeeling spectator of your distresses, or of the common calamities of your native country, though as Tully writes, being neither able to bear the manners of the princes, or of the people, I have thought fit, under the shelter of the greatest examples, to retire from civil broils to my little paternal inheritance.

If I had thought that my mingling any longer in the political crowd could have done any service to my country, I would not have adopted a plan of domestic, studious, or rural retirement, but as things are now situated, I think myself happy in my silent retreat, from the unhappy divisions of a too much civilized and corrupted commonwealth.

From this virtuous and contemplative retirement I will never consent to withdraw myself, whilst I see things in the light I now do; should any critical events happen to restore the lost manners of the British empire, and to open a channel for the exercise of any little talents, of which I may be possessed, for the good of my country, no one will come forth with greater pleasure and alacrity than myself: penetrated as I have been from my tenderest youth, by the highest sentiments of truth, honour, and righteousness of action, I rejoice in writing with sincerity such a letter to such a man, and even in my secret hours of retirement and meditation, or in the more animated intercourses of my little society, I shall often wish and pray for the accomplishment of those happy changes for which you breathe, and have often breathed your benevolent desires.

Farewell, Sir, be of good courage, and remember that even in these *lost times* you had the comfort to receive such praises, such
marks

marks of regard, and such sympathetic expressions of emotion, from the despised remnant of a despised and unfortunate family, a family ever remarkable for its attachment to religion, liberty, and learning.

Tell Mr. Cushing and those other gentlemen, whose regards I possess and value, that I remember them with honour and with pleasure, tell them, tell all who deserve to be told so, that there is a *peer* in Britain, who is a true friend to America, and to injured innocence, one who loves liberty and virtue for their own sakes, and not for the popular applauses, which often accompany those who profess to love them, that he withdraws himself from those applauses, and is preparing himself diligently for a better country.

I am, with the highest consideration and esteem,

Sir, your most obedient servant,

For the POLITICAL REGISTER:

A Political, Concise Sermon on the Spirit of the Times, being a few Minutes Discourse delivered to a Polite Audience at the West End of the Town.

Sirs, good People,

TH E words of my text will be found in a book, which but few read, and fewer reverence, I mean the BIBLE;—*a wonderful and horrible thing is committed in the land; the prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means; and the people love to have it so: But what will ye do in the end thereof?*—Now it is observable, that numbers of prophets have been rulers, law-givers and princes. Such as the patriarchs Moses, Joshua, Samuel, David and Solomon—new rulers and law-givers, whether princes or ministers, prophesy falsely whenever they pursue measures destructive to the people, and take every method in their power to bribe, enchant, and ensnare. When they persuade them to think, that peace is in every possible circumstance better than war; even though it give the enemy all the advantage he could wish to obtain, and though he is a subdued and conquered enemy.—When they persuade the people, that all the channels of trade and commerce may be safely shut up, and when to effect this they burden the subject in distant territories with oppressive taxes on commerce, though the consequence of these impositions must be hunger, nakedness and want to thousands of artificers and manufacturers at home who used to have full employ.

They prophesy falsely when they would persuade the people, that however they are oppressed, they ought to be silent, and trust providence to work miracles for them; since *Elijah* was fed by ravens.—And if upon an apprehension, that the laws are violated and the liberty of the subject sacrificed to the resentment of a minister of state, the people assemble in great numbers, though unarmed, to gratify their desire of seeing the *oppressed*. They are lying prophets when they tell us it was a wise measure to order the defenceless multitude to be fired upon; since this was a legal way of bringing the too inquisitive to justice; and would effectually put an end to their further curiosity. Or that when a representative of a county is to be chosen, the best scheme of excluding such candidate disapproved by the majority, is to hire ruffians to

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mur,

murder as many as they think fit of the friends of the constitution who are in opposition to a bad a—n, and when the most impartial court of judicature, had determined the guilt of those ruffians to be capital, they prophesy falsely in saying it was wisdom or sound policy to reverse the judicial sentence, and instead of a brand of infamy, to do honours to the assassins,—and furnish an unexampled instance of reversing the currency of justice. Again, prophets prophesy falsely, when they persuade the people, that the best subjects of government are overturning the constitution, when none but themselves have any hand at all in that subversion—and when they delude great numbers to imagine, that flattering *lying* addresses infesting the throne, are more seasonable than a *redress* of grievances.

Another delusion is, when the people are, by the forceries of ministerial influence, persuaded that their most invaluable privileges are secure, merely because they have an house of representatives :—Notwithstanding it is, as it was under *Charles V.* viz. “The name of *Cortes* remain, and its formalities are continued ; though its authority and jurisdiction is reduced to nothing ; since it is become a *junto* of the servants of the crown, rather than an assembly of the representatives of the people.”—To what purpose a national representative when the Political Register can give us a list of two hundred and twenty one favourite toasts at C——n House, at Bloomsbury Square, and Edinburgh—the delusion is flagrant, if the people place any dependance on such an house of representatives, they might as well hope for a decrease made of the national debt by an increase of *placemen* and *penioners*.

Secondly, *the priests bear rule by their means.* All ecclesiastical usurpations have been always supported by a prostitution of civil power : an affected, feigned alliance between church and state, has constantly been the source of spiritual tyranny, exercised by men, who lay claim to the most sacred characters. These sons of Levi, or rather of Eli, have more concern about the roast of fat livings, and lordly endowments, than about the ark of God, or any thing that can be deemed religion. A new bishoprick will create them a new empire, yet, *the people love to have it so.* What people do ? Why those who are so depraved, as to love slavery, and court their own ruin. A people who idly dream of the *jure divino* of despotic princes, and who also most devoutly reverence the priest, because he assumes the air and power of admitting or excluding whom he pleases from the church ; of confirming those whom he imitates, and of absolving the most vicious and licentious.—Here lies the insatiation ; and thus it is that a people are consenting to falsehood in any national administration. But here arises an alarming question, *what will they do in the end thereof ?*—This is truly an extremely difficult question. Nor am I able to imagine who it is that can give the solution.—Assured however we may be, that a system of subversion, in its finishing, can have in it nothing desirable. When our religion, laws, liberties, and all that can render human life either comfortable or tolerable, is gone—the scene must close with thick, with palpable darkness, and all the horrors of confusion !—It cannot be otherwise, because it is a thing both wonderful and horrible !—Consider what has been said and have more understanding.

THE PREACHER.

To the KING's most Excellent Majesty,
The HUMBLE PETITION of the FREEHOLDERS of the
County of MIDDLESEX.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the freeholders of the county of Middlesex, beg leave, with all affectionate submission and humility, to throw ourselves at your royal feet, and humbly to implore your paternal attention to those grievances; of which this county and the whole nation complain, and those fearful apprehensions with which the whole British empire is most justly alarmed.

With great grief and sorrow, we have long beheld the endeavours of certain evil-minded persons, who attempt to infuse into your royal mind, notions and opinions of the most dangerous and pernicious tendency, and who promote and counsel such measures as cannot fail to destroy that harmony and confidence, which should ever subsist between a just and virtuous prince and a free and loyal people.

For this disaffected purpose, they have introduced into every part of the administration of our happy, legal constitution, a certain unlimited and indefinite discretionary power; to prevent which is the sole aim of all our laws, and was the sole cause of all those disturbances and revolutions, which formerly distracted this unhappy country; for our ancestors, by their own fatal experience, well knew that, in a state where discretion begins, law, liberty, and safety end. Under the pretence of this discretion, or, as it was formerly and has been lately called—Law of State—we have seen,

English Subjects, and even a Member of the British legislature, arrested by virtue of a general warrant, issued by a secretary of state, contrary to the law of the land—

Their houses rifled and plundered, their papers seized, and used as evidence upon trial—

Their bodies committed to close imprisonment—

The Habeas Corpus eluded—

Trial by jury discountenanced, and the first law-officer of the crown publicly insinuating that juries are not to be trusted—

Printers punished by the ministry in the supreme court, without a trial by their equals, without any trial at all—

The remedy of the law for false imprisonment barred and defeated—

The plaintiff and his attorney, for their appeal to the law of the land, punished by expences and imprisonment, and made by forced engagements to desist from their legal claim—

A writing determined to be a libel by a court where it was not cognizable in the first instance; contrary to law, because all appeal is thereby cut off, and inferior courts and juries influenced by such predetermination—

A person condemned in the said court as the author of the supposed libel unheard, without defence or trial—

Y y 2

Unjust

Unjust treatment of petitions, by selecting only such parts as might be wrested to criminate the petitioner, and refusing to hear those which might procure him redress—

The thanks of one branch of the legislature proposed by a minister to be given to an acknowledged offender for his offence, with the declared intention of screening him from law—

Attachments wrested from their original intent of removing obstructions to the proceedings of law, to punish, by sentence of arbitrary fine and imprisonment, without trial or appeal, supposed offences committed out of court—

Perpetual imprisonment of an Englishman without trial, conviction, or sentence, by the same mode of attachment, wherein the same person is at once party, accuser, judge, and jury—

Instead of the ancient and legal civil police, the military introduced at every opportunity, unnecessarily and unlawfully patrolling the streets, to the alarm and terror of the inhabitants—

The lives of many of your majesty's innocent subjects destroyed by military execution—

Such military execution solemnly adjudged to be legal—

Murder abetted, encouraged, and rewarded—

The civil magistracy rendered contemptible by the appointment of improper and incapable persons—

The civil magistrates tampered with by administration, and neglecting and refusing to discharge their duty—

Mobs and riots hired and raised by the ministry, in order to justify and recommend their own illegal proceedings, and to prejudice your majesty's mind by false insinuations against the loyalty of your majesty's subjects—

The freedom of election violated by corrupt and undue influence, by unpunished violence and murder—

The just verdicts of juries, and the opinion of the judges, overruled by false representations to your majesty; and the determinations of the law set aside by new, unprecedented, and dangerous means; thereby leaving the guilty without restraint, and the injured without redress, and the lives of your majesty's subjects at the mercy of every ruffian protected by administration—

Obsolete and vexatious claims of the crown set on foot for partial and election purposes—

Partial attacks on the liberty of the press: the most daring and pernicious libels against the constitution, and against the liberty of the subject, being allowed to pass unnoticed, whilst the slightest libel against a minister is punished with the utmost rigour—

Wicked attempts to encrease and establish a standing army, by endeavouring to vest in the crown an unlimited power over the militia; which, should they succeed, must, sooner or later, subvert the constitution, by augmenting the power of administration in proportion to their delinquency—

Repeated endeavours to diminish the importance of members of parliament individually, in order to render them more dependent on administration collectively. Even threats having been employed by ministers to suppress the freedom of debate; and the wrath of parliament denounced against measures authorised by the law of the land—

Reso,

Resolutions of one branch of the legislature set up as the law of the land, being a direct usurpation of the rights of the two other branches, and therefore a manifest infringement of the constitution—

Public money shamefully squandered and unaccounted for, and all inquiry into the cause of arrears in the civil list prevented by the ministry—

Inquiry into a pay-master's public accounts stopped in the exchequer, though the sums unaccounted for by that pay-master amount to above forty millions sterling—

Public loans perverted to private ministerial purposes—

Prostitution of public honours and rewards to men who can neither plead public virtue nor services—

Irreligion and immorality, so eminently discountenanced by your majesty's royal example, encouraged by administration both by example and precept.

The same discretion has been extended by the same evil counsellors to your majesty's dominions in America, and has produced to our suffering fellow subjects in that part of the world, grievances and apprehensions similar to those of which we complain at home.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

SUCH are the grievances and apprehensions which have long discontented and disturbed the greatest and best part of your majesty's loyal subjects. Unwilling, however, to interrupt your royal repose, though ready to lay down our lives and fortunes for your majesty's service, and for the constitution as by law established, we have waited patiently, expecting a constitutional remedy by the means of our own representatives: But our legal and free choice having been repeatedly rejected, and the right of election now finally taken from us by the unprecedented seating of a candidate who was never chosen by the county, and who, even to become a candidate, was obliged fraudulently to vacate his seat in parliament, under the pretence of an insignificant place, invited thereto by the prior declaration of a minister, that whoever opposed our choice, though with but four votes, should be declared member for the county. We see ourselves, by this last act, deprived even of the franchises of Englishmen, reduced to the most abject state of slavery, and left without hopes or means of redress but from your majesty or God.

Deign then, most gracious sovereign, to listen to the prayer of the most faithful of your majesty's subjects; and to banish from your royal favour, trust, and confidence, for ever, those evil and pernicious counsellors, who have endeavoured to alienate the affection of your majesty's most sincere and dutiful subjects, and whose suggestions tend to deprive your people of their dearest and most essential rights, and who have traiterously dared to depart from the spirit and letter of those laws which have secured the crown of these realms to the house of Brunswick, in which we make our most earnest prayers to God, that it may continue untarnished to the latest posterity.

(Copy)

Signed by 1565 Freeholders.

To his Grace the Duke of G-----.

My Lord,

IF the measures in which you have been most successful, had been supported by any tolerable appearance of argument, I should have thought my time not ill employed, in continuing to examine your conduct as a minister, and stating it fairly to the public: But when I see questions of the highest national importance carried as they have been, and the first principles of the constitution openly violated, without argument or decency, I confess, I give up the cause in despair. The meanest of your predecessors had abilities sufficient to give a colour to their measures. If they invaded the rights of the people, they did not dare to offer a direct insult to their understanding; and, in former times, the most venal parliaments made it a condition, in their bargain with the minister, that he should furnish them with some plausible pretences for selling their country and themselves. You have had the merit of introducing a more compendious system of government and logic. You neither address yourself to the passions nor to the understanding, but simply to the touch. You apply yourself immediately to the feelings of your friends, who, contrary to the forms of parliament, never enter heartily into a debate, until they have divided.

Relinquishing, therefore, all idle views of amendment to your grace, or of benefit to the public, let me be permitted to consider your character and conduct merely as a subject of curious speculation. There is something in both, which distinguishes you not only from all other ministers, but all other men. It is not that you do wrong by design, but that you should never do right by mistake. It is not that your indolence and your activity have been equally misapplied, but that the first uniform principle, or, if I may so call it, the genius of your life, should have carried you through every possible change and contradiction of conduct, without the momentary imputation or colour of a virtue; and that the wildest spirit of inconsistency should never once have betrayed you into a wife or honourable action. This, I own, gives an air of singularity to your fortune, as well as to your disposition. Let us look back together to a scene, in which a mind like your's will find nothing to repent of. Let us try, my lord, how well you have supported the various relations in which you stood, to your sovereign, your country, your friends, and yourself. Give us, if it be possible, some excuse to posterity and to ourselves for submitting to your administration. If not the abilities of a great minister, if not the integrity of a patriot, or the fidelity of a friend, shew us, at least, the firmness of a man.---For the sake of your mistress, the lover shall be spared. I will not lead her into public, as you have done, nor will I insult the memory of departed beauty. Her sex, which alone made her amiable in your eyes, makes her respectable in mine.

The character of the reputed ancestors of some men has made it possible for their descendants to be vicious in the extreme, without being degenerate. Those of your grace, for instance, left no distressing examples of virtue even to their legitimate posterity, and you may look back with pleasure to an illustrious pedigree, in which heraldry has not left a single good quality upon record to insult or upbraid you. You have better proofs of your descent, my lord, than the register of a marriage, or any troublesome inheritance of reputation. There are some hereditary strokes of character, by which a family may be as clearly distinguished as by the blackest features of the human face. Charles the First lived and died a hypocrite. Charles the Second was a hypocrite of another sort, and should have died upon the same scaffold. At the distance of a century, we see their different characters happily revived and blended in your grace. Sullen and severe without religion, profligate without gaiety, you live like Charles the Second, without being an amiable companion, and, for ought I know, may die as his father did, without the reputation of a martyr.

You had already taken your degrees with credit in those schools in which the English nobility are formed to virtue, when you were introduced to lord Chatham's protection. From Newmarket, White's, and the Opposition, he gave you to the world with an air of popularity, which young men usually set out with, and seldom preserve;---grave and plausible enough to be thought fit for business,

business, too young for treachery, and, in short, a patriot of no unpromising expectations. Lord Chatham was the earliest object of your political wonder and attachment. Yet you deserted him, upon the first hopes that offered of an equal share of power with lord Rockingham. When the duke of Cumberland's first negotiation failed, and when the favourite was pushed to the last extremity, you saved him, by joining with an administration, in which lord Chatham had refused to engage. Still, however, he was your friend, and you are yet to explain to the world why you consented to act without him, or why, after uniting with lord Rockingham, you deserted and betrayed him. You complained that no measures were taken to satisfy your patron, and that your friend, Mr. Wilkes, who had suffered so much for the party, had been abandoned to his fate. They have since contributed, not a little, to your present plenitude of power; yet, I think, lord Chatham has less reason than ever to be satisfied, and, as for Mr. Wilkes, it is, perhaps, the greatest misfortune of his life, that you should have so many compensations to make in the closet for your former friendship with him. Your gracious master understands your character, and makes you a persecutor, because you have been a friend.

Lord Chatham formed his last administration upon principles which you certainly concurred in, or you could never have been placed at the head of the treasury. By deserting those principles, and by acting in direct contradiction to them, in which, he found, you were secretly supported in the closet, you soon forced him to leave you to yourself, and to withdraw his name from an administration, which had been formed on the credit of it. You had then a prospect of friendships better suited to your genius, and more likely to fix your disposition. Marriage is the point, on which every rake is stationary at last; and truly, my lord, you may well be weary of the circuit you have taken, for you have now fairly travelled through every sign in the political Zodiac, from the Scorpion, in which you stung lord Chatham, to the hopes of a virgin in the house of Bl----f---y. One would think that you had had sufficient experience of the frailty of nuptial engagements, or, at least, that such a friendship as the duke of B-----'s might have been secured to you by the auspicious marriage of your late d-----s with his nephew. But ties of this tender nature cannot be drawn too close; and it may possibly be a part of the D--- of B--f--d's ambition, after making *her* an honest woman, to work a miracle of the same sort upon your G-----. This worthy nobleman has long dealt in virtue. There has been a large consumption of it in his own family, and, in the way of traffick, I dare say, he has bought and sold more than half the representative integrity of the nation.

In a political view, this union is not imprudent. The favour of princes is a perishable commodity. You have now a strength sufficient to command the closet; and if it be necessary to betray one friendship more, you may set even lord Bute at defiance. Mr. Stuart Mackenzie may possibly remember what use the d--- of B--f--d usually makes of his power, and our gracious sovereign I doubt not rejoices at this first appearance of union among his servants. His late majesty, under the happy influence of a family connection between his ministers, was relieved from the cares of government. A more active prince may perhaps observe with suspicion, by what degrees an artful servant grows upon his master from the first unlimited professions of duty and attachment to the painful representation of the necessity of the royal service, and soon, in regular progression, to the humble insolence of dictating in all the obsequious forms of peremptory submission. The interval is carefully employed in forming connections, creating interests, collecting a party, and laying the foundation of double marriages, until the deluded prince, who thought he had found a creature prostituted to his service, and insignificant enough to be always dependent upon his pleasures, finds him at last too strong to be commanded, and too formidable to be removed.

Your grace's public conduct, as a minister, is but the counter-part of your private history, the same inconsistency, the same contradictions. In America we trace you, from the first opposition to the stamp act, on principles of convenience; to Mr. Pitt's surrender of the right; then forward to lord Rockingham's surrender of the fact; then back again to lord Rockingham's declaration of the right; then

them forward to taxation with Mr. Townshend ; and in the last instance, from the gentle Conway's undetermined discretion, to blood and compulsion with the d--- of B---d : yet if we may believe the simplicity of lord North's eloquence, at the opening of next sessions you are once more to be the patron of America. Is this the wisdom of a great minister ? Or is it the vibration of a pendulum ? Had you no opinion of your own, my lord ? Or was it the gratification of betraying every party with which you had been united, and of deserting every political principle in which you had concurred.

Your enemies may turn their eyes without regret from this admirable system of provincial government : they will find gratification enough in the survey of your domestic and foreign policy.

If, instead of disowning lord Shelburne, the British court had interposed with dignity and firmness, you know, my lord, that Corsica would never have been invaded. The French saw the weakness of a distracted ministry, and were justified in treating you with contempt : they would probably have yielded in the first instance rather than hazard a rupture with this country ; but being once engaged, they cannot retreat without dishonour. Common sense foresees consequences which have escaped your grace's penetration. Either we suffer the French to make an acquisition, the importance of which you have probably no conception of, or we oppose them by an underhand management, which only disgraces us in the eyes of Europe, without answering any purpose of policy or prudence. From secret, indiscreet assistance, a transition to some more open decisive measures becomes unavoidable, till at last we find ourselves principals in the war, and are obliged to hazard every thing for an object which might have originally been obtained without expence or danger. I am not versed in the politics of the north ; but this I believe is certain, that half the money you have distributed to carry the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, or even your secretary's share in the last subscription, would have kept the Turks at your devotion. Was it oeconomy, my lord ? Or did the coy resistance you have constantly met with in the British senate make you despair of corrupting the divan ? Your friends indeed have the first claim upon your bounty, but if five hundred pounds a year can be spared in pension to Sir John Moore, it would not have disgraced you to have allowed something to the secret service of the public.

You will say perhaps that the situation of affairs at home demanded and engrossed the whole of your attention. Here, I confess, you have been active. An amiable, accomplished prince ascends the throne under the happiest of all auspices, the acclamations and united affections of his subjects. The first measures of his reign, and even the odium of a favourite were not able to shake their attachment. *Your* services, my lord, have been more successful. Since you were permitted to take the lead, we have seen the natural effects of a system of government at once both odious and contemptible. We have seen the laws sometimes scandalously relaxed, sometimes violently stretched beyond their tone. We have seen the sacred person of the sovereign insulted ; and in profound peace, and with an undisputed title the fidelity of his subjects brought by his own servants into a public question. Without abilities, resolution, or interest, you have done more than Bute could accomplish with all Scotland at his heels.

Your grace, little anxious perhaps either for present or future reputation, will not desire to be handed down in these colours to posterity. You have reason to flatter yourself that the memory of your administration will survive even the forms of a constitution, which our ancestors vainly hoped would be immortal ; and as for your personal character, I will not, for the honour of human nature, suppose that you can wish to have it remembered. The condition of the present times is desperate indeed ; but there is a debt due to those who come after us, and it is the historian's office to punish, though he cannot correct. I do not give you to posterity as a pattern to imitate, but as an example to deter ; and as your conduct comprehends every thing that a wise or honest minister should avoid, I mean to make you a negative instruction to your successors for ever.

J U N I U S .

For

A BRITISH SONG for the Year 1769.

- I.
IF we let B---e and his creatures go on,
Lilli bur lero bullen a la,
Soon they'll complete what the Stuarts begun;
Lilli &c.
For all may find
How they're inclin'd,
Lilli &c.
Who strive to amuse us,
And want to abuse us
Like lilli bur lero bullen a la.*
- II.
Who can think that they are friends to the
king?
Lilli bur &c.
No, they're no friends who would slavery
bring,
Lilli &c.
And all may find, &c.
- III.
What can old England e'er gain by a Stuart?
Lilli, &c.
Naught but her bane, and the devil knows
what;
Lilli, &c.
As all, &c.
- IV.
O, you mistake, they continually cry,
Lilli, &c.
'Tis for the good of the nation we try;
Lilli, &c.
Yet all, &c.
- V.
Where's the mistake when we daily perceive
Lilli, &c.
Things which must make ev'ry Englishman
grieve!
Lilli, &c.
Yes, all, &c.
- VI.
Since they once more the old game do begin
Lilli, &c.
Turn the whigs out, to bring rank Tories in.
Lilli, &c.
Thus all, &c.
- VII.
Penf---rs, pl--men and p--rs grow so fast,
Lilli, &c.
There'll be but few independents at last.
Lilli, &c.
We all, &c.
- VIII.
'Tis very plain, all the people can see,
Lilli, &c.
How they dislike an el-----a that's free.
Lilli, &c.
Then all, &c.
- IX.
Let the Scotch guards, let Balf and M'Quirk
Lilli, &c.
Speak out, and they'll own who set 'em to
work,
Lilli, &c.
So all, &c.
- X.
Stand we firm to maintain our equal laws;
Lilli, &c.
Die brave, if need be, in liberty's cause.
Lilli, &c.
Since all, &c.
- XI.
Then shall they know we are Englishmen
still,
Lilli, &c.
Whofcorn to bow down to their jacobite will.
Lilli, &c.
Whilst all, &c.
- XII.
Let a glass toking George go round at the first,
Lilli, &c.
Another that old England's foes may be curst;
Lilli, &c.
By which they'll find
How we're inclin'd,
Lilli, &c.
Tho' now they'd amuse us,
They ne'er shall abuse us
Like lilli bur lero bullen a la.

* *Lilli bur lero*, is said to have been the watch word among Irish papists, in their massacre of the protestants, A. D. 1641.

An emblematical and Political Exhibition of PICTURES, MODELS, STATUES,
DRAWINGS, PRINTS, &c.

- No. 1. THE march of the addressers.---A picture in the manner of Hogarth.
2. A conversation in K-w garden by moon-light.
3. A drawing of lord H---b---h in the character of an Irishman firing a four-and-twenty
pounder against himself.---By Mr. P---wn---l.
4. The bacchanalians, a model.---By Mr. R---g---y.
5. The law of the land raised from the dust.---A fine historical picture by W. Earl of
Ch---m.
6. Lord S---d---h listening at a key-hole.---By G---e C---l---w.
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7. A profile of Dr. B-----e correcting his commentaries for the use of the ministry.---In Rembrandt's darkest manner.
8. A very large picture of a land storm, in which lord N---th is introduced blubbering over his last victory.---The design is by a lady of great distinction; and it is surprisingly well executed by a young man lately taken from the mattock and the spade.
9. Sir Christopher Pigot in Newgate.---A portrait by one Gibby E---t, a Scotch lad.
10. A full length picture of lord Gr---y.---Much faded.
11. A room with two doors, general C---y in the middle exceedingly puzzled.
12. A distant view of a remarkable leaning chapel in Westminster.---Taken from the King's Bench prison by Mr. Wilkes.
13. Charity begins at home.---An ingenious emblematical drawing, by lord B---ch---p.
14. Lord W---ym---h in the character of a drunken butcher.---Drawn with a pen by Mr. W-----d.
15. An excellent caricature of Serjeant N-----s singing a hymn in St. Stephen's chapel on a Sunday morning.---By the duke of M-----h.
16. A bronze head of Sir F. N.---This head stood a long time at a public market in Westminster for sale, and was at last bought at an exorbitant price by the ministry, and paid for the day after Mr. Wilkes's expulsion.
17. Mr. H-----s St---y, a-foot, sticking in a deep road.
18. A section of the foundation of L-----n house in Bedfordshire, the seat of the earl of B---e.---It is not easy to understand the inscriptions on the different arches, such as "Civil list debt." "French Louis for a peace." "Fluctuation in stocks." "Secret services at K-w, &c. &c. &c."
19. Mungo secreting a manuscript journal of the last century.---By one of the clerks.
20. The D. of G-----n, the lord Ch-----r, and the earl of B---l, in the character of barefooted pilgrims standing at Hayes Gate.---By lord Ch-----s's porter.
21. A fine picture in the manner of Anibal Carrache, of the genius of England. The countenance expresses great resentment; and the right-hand holds out a view of the palace of Z----- to a figure, of a woman, who seems to be in great confusion.---The author calls himself Vox Populi.
22. A proof print of Ay---ffe's ghost, from the original in lord H-----d's bedchamber.---By Mr. Dep---y Patt---n.
23. A mezzotint of Mr. Ald-----n H---l---y voting in the minority.---A deception. --Dedicated to the livery of London.

Mr. BROMFIELD'S DEFENCE.

MY long and severe illness rendered me incapable of any sort of business for a considerable time, which will sufficiently account for my silence in regard to a publication, to which is prefixed *the name of John Foot, Surgeon.*

Since my recovery, I have very carefully read over that performance, and, amongst the many falsities which I am concerned to find published under that gentleman's name, is the following, in page 46:

' Mr. Bromfield said he would not come himself, nor send any of his people to examine the dead body, but endeavoured to persuade Mrs. Talbot the aunt, to have him buried without examination, or the coroner's inquisition; and he gave this advice, he said, out of friendship to her, because it would be very expensive to her otherwise. Will Mr. Bromfield please to explain this conduct, and his earnestness to conceal the cause of Clarke's death?'

In answer to this, I lay before the public the following affidavits, which will so effectually demonstrate the real truth, and at the same time serve to discover the spirit of Mr. Foote's book, that I shall leave the reader to form his own conclusions on the rest of it.

Conduit Street,
April 26, 1769.

I am, Sir, your humble servant,

W. BROMFIELD.

Middlesex, } CHARLES BROMFIELD, son of William Bromfield, in the
to wit. } parish of St. George, Hanover square, in the county of Middlesex, Esquire, aged twenty-one years, and upwards, maketh oath and saith, That on or about the 14th day of December last, to the best of this deponent's remembrance and belief, as to the time, one of this deponent's said father's footmen came into the parlour where this deponent's father then was, together with this deponent and others of his family, and informed this deponent's said father

that there was a woman in the passage who said she came from the White Hart, in Welbeck-street, and desired this deponent's said father would attend the coroner, to examine the body of the young man who died there, or to that effect, to the best of this deponent's remembrance and belief: and this deponent farther saith, That this deponent's father thereupon desired Mr. Christopher Wren, jun. who was then his pupil, to acquaint the said woman, that he this deponent's said father, was not well, and could not attend, and directed the said Mr. Wren to go with the said woman to Mr. Bayford, of Princes-street, Hanover-square, surgeon, who had served the latter part of his apprenticeship to this deponent's father, and request him to attend the said coroner, and if the said Mr. Bayford should be from home, to go to Mr. Underwood, of Margaret street, Cavendish square, surgeon, and request the favour of him to go and examine the body, or this deponent's father expressed himself to that or the like effect, to the best of this deponent's remembrance and belief: and this deponent further saith, that the said Mr. Wren thereupon went out of the room, as this deponent apprehended, to deliver the said message to the said woman, but this deponent did not hear what passed between the said Wren and the said woman: and this deponent further saith, that his, this deponent's said father, neither spoke to nor saw the said woman.

C. BROMFIELD.

Sworn voluntarily before me, (being one of his majesty's justices of the peace in and for the said county) this 22d day of April, 1769.

JOHN LANE.

CHRISTOPHER WREN, junior, late pupil to William Bromfield, Esq; maketh oath, and saith, That on or about the 14th day of December last, according to the best of this deponent's remembrance and belief, as to the time, one of the said William Bromfield's servants came into the parlour where the said William Bromfield, and this deponent, and others of his family then were, and informed him, the said William Bromfield, that a woman was come to desire he would attend the coroner and his jury the next day, at the White Hart, in Welbeck street, in order to examine the body of the young man, who died there, or to that effect, to the best of this deponent's remembrance and belief. And this deponent farther saith, that the said William Bromfield thereupon ordered this deponent to inform the said woman, that he the said William Bromfield was not well, and could not go himself, and directed this deponent to apply to Mr. Bayford, of Princes street, Hanover square, surgeon, to attend the said coroner and jury with this deponent; and if the said Mr. Bayford should not be at home, to go to Mr. Underwood, of Margaret street, Cavendish square, and request him to attend the said coroner and jury, with this deponent, according to the best of this deponent's remembrance and belief; and this deponent farther saith, that he went to the said woman, who was then in the passage, and did acquaint her with what the said William Bromfield had said to this deponent; and this deponent farther saith, that the said woman made answer, that she believed that no person but Mr. Bromfield would do; but said, that she would go back, and return again with an answer, or to that effect. And this deponent further saith, That the said woman then left the house of the said William Bromfield, in the view of this deponent, and never saw, or spoke to the said William Bromfield, nor the said William Bromfield to her, the said William Bromfield being then in the parlour all the while the said woman tarried in his house, and the said woman in the entry. And this deponent saith, that the said woman never did return with an answer, to the best of this deponent's knowledge and belief: And this deponent farther saith, that on or about Wednesday or Thursday next, after the publication of Mr. Foot's pamphlet, to the best of this deponent's remembrance and belief, as to the time, this deponent, in conversation with the said Mr. Foot, did inform the said Mr. Foot, that he this deponent had received such orders as aforesaid, from the said William Bromfield, and had delivered such message as aforesaid to the said woman.

CHR. WREN, jun.

Sworn at the public office, the 18th April, 1769, before me,

Z z 2

JOHN LANE.

Middlesex, } DOROTHY TALBOT, of Welbeck Street, in the parish of
to wit. } St. Mary-le-bone, in the county of Middlesex, widow, maketh
oath, and saith, That on or about the thirteenth day of December last past, to
the best of this deponent's remembrance and belief, this deponent sent to William
Bromfield, Esq; desiring him to attend this deponent's nephew, Mr. George
Clarke, who was then very ill at this deponent's house; and the said William
Bromfield did accordingly visit the said George Clarke once, and no more, the
said George Clarke dying early the next morning: and this deponent farther
saith, That this deponent did not see the said William Bromfield from the time
that he visited the said George Clarke at this deponent's house, as aforesaid,
until some time in the month of April instant: and this deponent denies that the
said William Bromfield did ever advise, or endeavour to persuade, or, in any
manner, to influence this deponent, to have the body of the said George Clarke
buried without examination, or the coroner's inquisition, or that the said William
Bromfield did ever say or signify to this deponent, that such examination or in-
quisition would be expensive to this deponent.

DOROTHY TALBOT.

Sworn voluntarily before me, (being one of his majesty's justices of the peace
in and for the said county) this 22d of April, 1769.

JOHN LANE.

††† See a Pamphlet entitled, THE DISSECTION, in which these Affidavits are very
fully considered.

*Letter from an old Whig on the Management of the public Finances since the
Peace.*

S I R,

I HAVE ever considered that a strict attention to oeconomy, in the
management of the public finances, is the great characteristic of an
honest and upright administration: happy then for any country, whose
prince on the throne feels with regret every new tax, and every fresh
burden, which, for the unavoidable necessities of government, he is ob-
liged to impose upon his people.

Henry IV. of France was addicted to every splendid vice which could
create expence: But what was it that endeared this Duc de Sully to his
master? what was it that gave the title of *great* to a prince of a debauched
habit! what was it that effaced the remembrance of those vices, but an
indefatigable attention to public oeconomy, and to the reformation of
public abuses?

The riches, power, and superiority of any kingdom ought to be
strongly marked by the magnificence of it's prince. If his revenues are
not expended by an hospitable and sumptuous manner of entertain-
ment; if they are not exhausted by the erection of public edifices,
if they are not laid out in the improvement of the polite arts,
they are too commonly dissipated through private and secret channels,
which equally tend to impoverish the coffers of the Prince, and more ef-
fectually destroy the morals of the people.

Upon these principles I have formed my opinion, that princes should
be rather magnificent than parsimonious; for sordidness in a prince shews
an illiberal mind, which is unsusceptible of true glory: on the other
hand there never was a prince of shining qualities who did not wish to
leave behind him the lasting memorials of his own greatness, and the
felicity of the times in which he lived.

The royal revenues are not given by the people to be hoarded by the
prince; at the same time it is as true, that they ought not to be applied
by his ministers to support, by force of bribes and pensions, improper
measures against the genuine sense and interests of the people, for whose
sake alone all government is constituted.

The civil list revenues of Great Britain have been at all times found
sufficient by the wise and faithful servants of the crown, and out of these

considerable savings have been made; but when men get the conduct of affairs, who are void of principle and œconomy, in order to maintain their power, they not only sink the crown in enormous debts, but are driven to adopt every corrupt and ruinous method of extorting money to gratify their favourites and partners in infamy.

In this light it is to be remarked, that whenever wicked or violent measures are to be pursued, the annual bargain for public loans is formed without œconomy, and the distribution of those loans is made subservient to the purposes of the vilest prostitution.

A comparative view of all the loans planned by the different ministers since the peace will elucidate at one view this matter to the satisfaction of the public, who perhaps have not yet sufficiently attended to the importance of the subject, and considered it as a grievance which deserves redress.

Lord B— succeeded to the D— of N— in the treasury, and found a surplus of civil-list money in the ex—r, amounting to between 30 and 40,000l. He not only squandered this surplus during his short ad—n, but brought the k— in debt between 2 and 300,000l. in one year, beyond the establishment of the civil list revenues. Even this was not sufficient; therefore in order to gratify his hungry friends, favourites and dependants, who had given their concurrence to an ignominious peace, he made a budget, which opened with a ten per cent. profit to the subscribers.

Mr. G—, whose reigning passion, both in public and private life, is a rigid œconomy, made a hard bargain with the friends of his ad—n, for it brought the subscribers actually in debt; and this is the more remarkable, and as he had to resist an universal torrent of complaint, arising from the unpopularity of public measures, particularly of general warrants, and of the American stamp-duty.

The great object of Lord R—m's ad—n was to repeal the latter; and this was to be effected against the sentiment of lord B—'s friends at court, headed by the then ch—r.

It doth not appear, however, that lord R— either run the k— in debt, or made a jobb of his subscription; his loan was under one per cent. profit to the subscribers.

But mark the progress of the succeeding m—y. The D. of G—, who began his ad—n without any system of œconomy (but who at this time was not entirely lost to public principle) made his first loan three per cent. profit to his friends. You are to observe, that in his first year he was not much pushed, and that Mr. T—d was ch—r of the ex—r.

In the next f—n of P—t he found himself under the utmost difficulties, and joined himself for protection to new friends; and as numbers of these were to be gratified at the expence of the public, he made this year's loan from five to six per cent. profit to the subscribers.

During the last year he is become the utter aversion of the public: He now verges to his decline, and is therefore making up his account similar to that of the unjust steward in the gospel. A premium of 120,000l. has been distributed among the friends, favourites and hirelings of g—t, in order to prop his tottering ad—n, at least to reward the faithful services of his creatures, before he quits the helm of affairs.

Is an East-India agreement to be purchased? The purchase is made by lottery tickets, consult the list, you will find 4000 tickets, or 8000l. profit given to the four princiyal D—rs, who were appointed negotiators for the company, but who in fact negotiated for themselves.

Are addresses to be procured, to convey to the c—n an approbation of public measures, at a time they are held in universal detestation? the same powerful engine is employed. The principal movers of these addresses are now paid for their loss of time, for coach hire, and for smart-money, by having 500 tickets, at 40s per ticket premium, allotted to each individual who was instrumental in procuring their dependants names to what is called the merchants address.

If this sum of 120,000l. of the public money has not been intentionally squandered away to answer these base and corrupt motives, what other defence can be made for ad—n than to shelter them under a perfect ignorance of the whole-funded system, and to say that the Tr——y has been imposed upon by having bad people in and about it?

I shall not deny that the tr——y is liable to be imposed upon, perhaps never so much as at present; nay, it must be so, if we consider the first l—d to be a man inaccessible to all, except two or three minions of his power, to be governed only by his own capricious temper, and having for his adviser an upstart S——y, whose connections in the city are not of the manliest and chafest kind. The S——y's friends are easily distinguishable in the b—k list of subscribers.—No body will affirm that he has a joint interest with the concerned, and it will be extremely difficult for his friends to convince the world of the contrary.

Yours,

AN OLD WHIG.

Upon a strict Scrutiny, we have reason to think that the following Letter is written by the respectable Gentleman, who has long been silent, but formerly favoured the public with his sentiments on public affairs, under the same signature, vid. p. 242, vol. 3, we therefore think we cannot on the interesting subject of Colonel Luttrell's being admitted to take his seat, act with greater propriety, than by presenting the very material opinion of so good a judge of m——l measures.

I Think the great question which has lately been agitated in parliament, and still continues to agitate the people without doors, is capable of further elucidation, that it has received from even the perspicuous pen of *Junius*.

On what ground of right does Col. Luttrell now sit in the house of commons? Is it because Mr. Wilkes, his competitor, had been expelled the house of commons? manifestly no; for Mr. Wilkes had been several times expelled before, and yet his capability for being elected was admitted, and the precedent of Sir Robert Walpole is a strong proof that he was capable;—but Mr. Wilkes was declared incapable by a vote of the house of commons, antecedent to the last election. It is then *because Mr. Wilkes was declared incapable by a vote of the house of commons*, that Mr. Luttrell, his opponent, ought to have been returned, *and it is not because Mr. Wilkes has been expelled*. Now, I desire this state of the question may be attended to, for, if it be a great one, the right of the house of commons to expel, and to re-expel, is no part of it. The house might have declared Mr. Wilkes incapable, if he never had been a member, and consequently never had been expelled, and the question would have been exactly what it is now; for I repeat it, Mr. Luttrell sits in parliament, not because Mr. Wilkes had been expelled, but because Mr. Wilkes had been declared, by a vote of the commons, incapable of being elected. If then a vote of the house of commons can incapacitate Mr. Wilkes, it can likewise incapacitate any other man in the kingdom; for the house was not in this case exercising any power over its member, as Mr. Wilkes was not a member of the house when he was declared in

capable. The house had not therefore any authority or power over him, at the time which they have not over every other man in England. If therefore, I repeat it, a vote of the house of commons can render Mr. Wilkes incapable of being elected, it can render incapable any or every other man in England. Having thus reduced the question to its proper limits, and shewn, that it is neither about the rights of the commons to expel, nor about their right to exercise any other authority over their members; the first and obvious inference to be drawn from the decision of the house of commons, is, that no man is, or can be capable of being elected a member of that house, whom they have, or shall declare by vote incapable. Nothing indeed is more true, than that the house of commons has a *power* to prevent any man from coming into the house, or to turn any man out who is already within: they have a *power* to refuse to do any business of any kind: they have a *power* to refuse to receive any petitions: they have a *power* to purge their own house, and the majority to expel the minority on any question: they have *power* to vote the lords useless: and they have *power* to resolve that they are the whole legislature: they have power, I say, to do all, or any of these things, for I see not who has power to hinder them from doing them. Should the lawyers say the contrary, they can send them to Newgate; should the judges object, they can send them to the tower: who then is to decide upon the extent of their power? I answer, those who entrust them with it.—But have they a *right* to do all the things they have *power* to do? The Almighty suffers us his creatures, to debate about even his rights, and shall this creature of the people preclude us from all investigation of theirs? Whence then, let us ask, do the house of commons derive a right of rendering any man capable by law, incapable by a vote of that house of being elected a member of it? The answer I have heard, is, that the custom and usage of parliament is part of the law of the land, and that therefore a man, voted incapable by the house of commons, is rendered incapable by law. Now, without enquiring into the propriety of a body's claiming, under immemorial usage, which has no existence in itself for a longer term than seven years; or asking where this immemorial usage subsists, when there is no parliament in being, which has been frequently the case in the memory of many people; let us see whether there be immemorial usage to warrant the incapacitating by vote, a man not incapacitated by law from being elected a member of parliament. Where are the proofs? It was *once* done in the latter end of Queen Anne, in the case of Sir Robert Walpole. How far done? The vote was passed, it is granted; but was any new election had in consequence, or did any other man sit in parliament, having a less number of votes than Sir Robert? Nothing of this was the case—then where is the custom and usage;—but there is both custom and usage to the contrary. There are proofs without number, of men being elected and sitting in parliament, who had been declared by a vote of the house of commons, incapable of being elected, or of sitting there. How many times did the house of commons resolve against placemen sitting in that house; and were they rendered incapable of being elected by such resolution? When the house of commons passed a bill for excluding them, did it not resolve and vote their incapacity? every bill that passes is passed by a resolution or vote; and is not the house bound by that vote or resolution, inasmuch that it cannot revoke it the same session? If a bill had been brought in for incapacitating Mr. Wilkes, when the vote for passing the bill was made, would not the commons have voted him incapable as effectually as by having done it without a bill? All the bills of incapacity therefore, which have ever passed the house of commons, are direct proofs that the resolution of the house of commons alone is not sufficient to incapacitate

any man from being elected a member of parliament, and this too in the judgment of the house of commons itself. If the house of commons by a vote can incapacitate Mr. Wilkes, why could they not have incapacitated the commissioners of the customs and excise, their secretaries, plantation governors, and a number of other persons who are made incapable by act of parliament? Why could they not have voted that no man should be capable of a seat in that house, who did not swear at the table to his qualification? Why not specify the value of his qualification by vote, instead of doing these things by act of parliament? These are all election-matters: and if the house of commons be in *all cases* the sole judges, why did they call for the assistance of the legislature to enable them to do these things? There is but one answer to be given to these questions, which is, that the house of commons had no right to do them. Where then is the difference in point of *right*, between voting Mr. Wilkes incapable of being elected, and voting a commissioner of the excise incapable? let us not, however, stop here; for, on the other hand, if it be true, that a vote of the house of commons, is, in matters of election, the law of the land, the constituents of that house will have many calls upon their representatives, for matters which they have hitherto evaded, under pretence that the lords would not agree to them. Let them now by vote declare, the eldest sons of peers incapable of being elected, when they see the house of lords extended in its influence through them among the commons. Let them incapacitate by vote the secretaries and under-secretaries in the great offices of state, and thereby lessen the influence of the crown in that house. Let them incapacitate every military officer under the rank of Colonel. Let them incapacitate all men who shall not be in actual possession of their qualification for twelve months before the election; unless it be by descent. Many other acquisitions in favour of liberty, will they now be able to make by a vote, which could not be obtained by bill. Let their constituents therefore call upon them to exercise this right for them as well as against them; on their behalf as well as to their prejudice. But it is said there is a difference between the right of declaring Mr. Wilkes incapable, and that of declaring any other man incapable; for Mr. Wilkes was declared incapable; because he had been expelled. Mr. Wilkes's expulsion might be the *reason why* the house of commons declared him incapable, but the *reason* cannot give the right. That house may have equally good reasons for voting many other persons incapable, and in the cases I have put perhaps still stronger; and why should not those reasons give the right in such cases as well as in the case of Mr. Wilkes? I repeat my former assertion, Mr. Wilkes was not rendered incapable by being expelled. It is the vote of the house of commons declaring him incapable, which is the ground for saying that he is incapable. The *reason* of the vote is no part of the question. He was not incapable before he was voted to be incapable. It is the vote of incapacity which has made him incapable, no matter how it was obtained. But it is said, is the house of commons the only court that has no power to punish its own members? and if, when it has expelled a contumacious, or otherwise unworthy member, and that member is sent back to them the next day, they must receive him, their punishment becomes no punishment. I did not know before that the house of commons was a court; but if it be, let it expel its members, if that right be expedient for its well-being, and let it imprison its members too. I have no objection, let the punishment be repeated as often as the house thinks fit: but let it distinguish between its authority over its own members, and its right of punishing those who are not its members, especially those by whom the house itself is consti-

Letters on a late important Decision, relative to the Middlesex Election.

L E T T E R I.

To his Grace the D--- of G-----.

My Lord,

NOW the impetuous rage for disturbances seems for a moment to cease, and it may be supposed that mens minds are capable of a little reflection, your grace will permit me to dispassionately consider with what bitter remorse your grace's administration must look back upon the unconstitutional transactions in a late important decision; a question which in itself was alone the real foundation or destruction of the liberties of a free people. It was the spring from whence the pure stream of a free government must flow; and when once that spring is disturbed and obstructed, the river itself ceases to run with its limpid purity. I will here in a very cool manner, not with the rage of a party-writer, begin to treat so important a point with that unbiassed, unpensioned opinion, that such a constitutional question deserves, as *the original inherent birthright of all the people in this kingdom*. To begin then upon the earliest of times, nay from the very Chaos itself, let us suppose that government took its rise from the first meeting of people together; the first idea that occurs is, how shall we defend ourselves, so that peace and quiet may give countenance to our deliberations? After that, their consultations take place, and finding themselves too many in number, they then elect and appoint two persons from each tribe to consult and act for their welfare; they intrust them with certain powers, delegated to them only during their pleasure, and conformable to their will. I will now ask one question, what power upon earth is prior to this appointment? The answer is, none. It is the first property and right that they have, and it would be absurd to suppose that any law could be made prior to such appointment. We now will conceive that these persons so appointed and elected meet together to consult for the good of the whole, and to make such salutary laws as shall be agreeable to the genius and inclinations of the people who sent them there: It would be equally ridiculous to suppose that they could be vested with any power of their own, without the consent of their constituents; nor could they make any law but under the controul of those for whose good and under whom they are acting. They represent the people by such appointment, and the moment they meddle with that inherent birthright *to appoint*, that instant the representation must cease; for though perhaps they may dispute about other laws, yet they cannot call in question the power that gave them birth, that is, the law upon earth that is unquestionable, and the minute they offer to destroy that they annihilate themselves. If I take away the foundation of my house, the superstructure falls to the ground; but the foundation being firm and secure, I can change the superstructure as oft as I please. Would not you laugh at the folly of that man to whom I had granted an annuity out of my estate, who should call in question the title of my lands, and the right I had to do it?

I hope I have pretty clearly proved the right of appointment, and that no law in this land can possibly take it away; that the elective right is in the people, with which the elected cannot interfere or meddle. I say no law can, because the three estates of this kingdom are no more than an elected body from among the people. It was they who first chose their king and invested him with prerogatives of creating peers, and reserved in themselves close, one part of the legislature, to be elected from out of their own body, called the Commons. These three constitute the legislative power, under which three estates the people of this kingdom, having delegated a power to them, consent to be governed; but even the law of these three estates cannot annul, or in the least meddle with, that original right of appointment; it is prior to all their power, and belongs only to the people.

I will now gently touch upon the power of each, separately and distinctly. The House of C-----s being only one part of the three estates, are sent there only to consent with the other two; and no law made by one can be the law of the

land, otherwise there would be no occasion for the other two. Whatever privileges they have assumed, 'tis only for the easy transacting of the public business with security, and can only concern each power respectively within its own sphere. Now, my lord, let me consider the power of expulsion from either of the two Houses of P-----t. The king creates the lords, and the people elect the commons: Suppose first of all for example, the king should create a lord, and the lords should expel him their house, and say the king ought not to have created him, they would then tell him who he should create; but if the king insisted upon his right, and they could refuse to admit, it would then follow that the House of Lords, by no more peers being created, (the king's right not being settled) must for want of such creation soon be annihilated, inheritance being uncertain. Would the lords endeavour to destroy the very power that creates them? Suffer me then, my lord, to draw a parallel between them and the House of C-----.

We know that the House of C----- are the elected of the people, and that they sit there upon the majority of the legal voices, such as are not disqualified by the law of the three estates. I have before observed that no law can be made by them against the consent of their constituents, I therefore suppose every law assented to by their representative in the senate, as consented to by the majority of their constituents, and that man who is not disqualified by the law of the three estates, is certainly eligible; the people have chose him, and they think him a fit and proper man to manage their concerns. The House of C----- on their side think he is not a fit man, for that five days out of the week he is disturbing the peace of the house, and interrupting the public business going on. I have put this as the strongest objection against him: The house have taken, and very properly too, upon themselves the care and concern to preserve the decency and good order of their proceedings, and have therefore claimed a right by usage to superintend that order within their doors, of *excluding*, I will not say *expelling*, such a man from admittance into the house. The electors have notice of this impropriety in his behaviour; their answer is, that though he is imprudent in his behaviour those five days, yet his abilities are so great that the sixth day will be sufficient to transact their concerns, and they are well satisfied with their choice, and will send no other person. The House of C-----s expell and issue forth a writ; the return--- *Ecce iterum Crispinus!* and so on, *toties, quoties*. It is very proper the House of C----- should shut their door against such a man; but that is as far as they alone can go, or their power can carry them. Who are the people that suffer during this contest, and this man being excluded for being out of his senses? Why the constituents. If they chuse no other man it is their own fault, and they are the greatest sufferers by it. The loss of one man out of a House of C----- is very immaterial to the public, when there are 557 remaining, I hope, in their senses. But shall a House of C----- assume a dictatorial power of themselves, and expect that their resolution, which can only respect the good order and proceedings of their house, shall at once become the law of the land, and annihilate the two other estates? Do they think that the electors are bound to take notice of such resolution, and that they are to be dragooned into a compliance to pay as much respect to it as to the law of the land itself? No, my lord, they know they live under the law of the three estates, and not under the resolution of one only. This then cannot be upheld surely as a legal notification to the electors, that the excluded man was ineligible by the law of the land, and that all their votes were given to a disqualified person, and thrown away; nor can it be said that the electors behaved with indecency and disrespect.

No, my lord;---would you desire that justice and birthright should civilly be annulled by, and give way to, what is called decency and respect? It is a new mode lately of complimenting away our rights. The sturdy oak will sooner break than give way to the prickly pine. There is some virtue left even in Rome itself. Usurp not, my lord, a power of treating Rome with contempt, though its inhabitants may become despicable: Fire will rise out of the ashes and set the capitol

capitol in flames. You have already gone too far, your fatal deeds are dreaded by all true lovers of their country: But there is a certain comet abroad, with a fiery tale at home, that influences all your actions: It is a pestilential air breathing destruction to the state. When, ye Gods! will the time come, that this clime will be purged of its obnoxious vapours? When will the ferment cease? and when will the locusts leave the land? Then, and not till then, will the land produce plenty of corn, will the people labour with pleasure, and the honest man receive the reward of his toil, VERIDIGUS:

L E T T E R II.

To his Grace the D--- of G-----.

My Lord,

HA V I N G taken the liberty to address a letter to your grace relative to that great constitutional question, the elective rights of the people contending against the privileges or claims of the H--- of C-----s: Taking this to be one of the most essential and material points relative to the liberties of a free state that ever could have been agitated; and considering it as a dangerous balance fatal in its poise to this country, I cannot help adding my thoughts again on the public weal, and recommending to your grace the most serious consideration of so important a contest.

There are three powers in this state, King, Lords, and Commons, each vested with particular privileges for their order and dignity; determinations may be made by each separately respecting their own sphere, but one part cannot make any resolution to have effect upon the nation without the consent of all three: It then becomes an act of parliament under such consent only, and by that sanction the people are bound to consider it as law: It cannot become law till it has met with the approbation and consent of those three powers.

If the line of power is not drawn between the commons, and the people they represent, it is high time it should; but if the encroachments of the former are making daily inroads to the detriment of the latter, a line should somewhere or other be drawn to know what constitutional inherent power the people are really vested with. All authority must originally come from them, I hope no man in his senses will make a doubt of: If so, then the question would naturally be turned, and we should ask, with what degree of power the people have vested their representatives? And whether they have ever infringed or usurped powers that did not belong to them, and by such usurpation have not laid them by as precedents; time having lulled to sleep an enquiry into the real right? Shall they produce those now as such to serve the worst of purposes, the undermining the very foundation of this constitution? When the minds of weak m-----rs are not able to judge and reason for themselves, they call forth precedents of what others had done; and if they can find but one wicked man of high renown to give countenance and sanction to their most infamous deeds, it will save them the difficulty of judging for themselves; but men of sound sense, solid judgment, and firm principles, seek no such resort. I own, my lord, I am an enemy to precedents; but where neither my reason nor my understanding will guide me, I must there have resort to them, though perhaps highly inconsistent with the present times, and endeavour to frame, new mould, and torture them to serve my own abandoned purpose. I know this doctrine will not be relished by the learned in the law, whom your grace's administration generally place in the van of your engagements. Let them try now if they can twist one precedent that will not break when they begin to wreath it. Can they any ways find a single one that bears even the most distant relation to the present case? Can they even pretend that the resolution of the house ever was considered by the people as the law of the land? Then can they expect it to be obeyed as such? No, my lord, let your m-----s reason and argue the matter upon fair, firm, solid constitutional ground; it is the greatest question that ever was, or ever will be debated, even before a British senate.

Let them arm themselves with the voice of reason, and lay aside the vain search after precedents. Meet the people fairly upon the first ground, and lay by the latter; and then the nation will more readily submit to what I am afraid will be the fatal decision of that day.

Stain not your administration with the deep dye of your bleeding country, give not historians the date of the ruin of this constitution. Were I to write a history of it, I must be obliged to do it in characters of blood; nor should vengeance escape my pen tempered with reason. But should my tale so be told as to stand the brunt of after ages, that nothing could hurt, no calumny, no slanderous tongue depreciate its veracity, it would then be able to keep its ground, much like the m-----s it described now do, amidst the universal cry against the most iniquitous transactions upon the public weal, but nothing can move them, being grown quite callous with their s----- deeds. I must in justice except your g----- from many of those transactions, and think in my heart you might become a good and great minister by casting off that venal Bl-----y tribe, and uniting with l--d Ch---m, l--d T---e, and l--d C---n, you might then cherish the people; but the northern blast chills this proposal. VERIDICUS.

L E T T E R III.

To his Grace the D--- of G-----.

My Lord,

WHEN the murmurs of the people have tried to find a passage to the throne, the ministers of former times betrayed a wish at least to lull them into rest. Whether the principles of the statesman were just or tyrannical, an affection for his country, or a tenderness for himself, made him listen to the language of the multitude, and either pursue the measures which they approved, or slacken the severity of those which they condemned. It was destined for your grace to chuse a more unbeaten path: Not weak enough to feel too fondly for a native soil, nor yet so timid as to dread the consequence of having invaded all her dearest rights, your administration seems to glory in the pursuit, add insolence to injuries, and throw fresh burthens upon the backs of those you have already loaden. The time will come when those injuries, having long groaned under an ill-judging administration, will give their last struggle in the cause of their country; it will be like a drowning man, who imbibes his death peaceably for a time, and in the last agonies of the conflict raises a commotion in the water that will not soon subside. Suffer not, my lord, the avenues to the throne to be barricaded against the complaints of the people; let the closet of a ----- even be more accessible than the levee of the first minister; men who could well inform your grace have no admission to your presence. You seldom shew yourself abroad in public business, but when your edicts come forth, Mulah Ishmael appears clad in his fatal garb, and the whole world trembles. Lock not up the avenues to the throne with the unrelenting bars of oppression and revenge, but suffer the complaints of the people to feel the clemency that encircles the seat of majesty, and shew that the avenue between the throne and the people is an easy passage to mercy.---The late unconstitutional attack upon the most sacred rights of the people in undermining the very principles of the state cannot, will not be ever forgotten. The law of the land infringed upon, and its regulating power set aside, will work in the nation like poison in the human body, keep swelling on with a quick progress to its certain death. It is so rooted in the heart of man that it cannot get out. Is this a real complaint or no? Here is no private revenge, no party interest to serve, no future view but that of the public welfare. This is a solid grievance, this is a real complaint, in which a whole community unite and suffer alike; but your grace has lately also found out a new way of stifling complaints in their birth, a few well-disposed l---t---y t---k---ts will find address to the c---mm---n c-----l, and will make grievances like these appear as blessings, and the real sorrows of eight millions of people become smothered with the fumes of an exhausting tr---f---y. Look into the account of king Charles's destruction; see the refusal of the common hall to be called; read the remonstrance of the people to the then lord-mayor; and seriously weigh and consider their arguments, and cast your eye over the lord-mayor's speech to them in return; then liken the succeeding distractions of those times, and the fatal consequences, to the prophecies and forebodings of the present: But for fear the account of those proceedings should not be found in the hands of every bookseller, I intend in my next to lay it before your grace, and also for the public inspection, as I believe it is very rare to be found; a friend of mine having sent it me as a curiosity, being a faithful and exact account. I shall only then select a few remarks sufficient for the

the present occasion, as I shall perhaps by next winter lay a more full account before the public in some one or other of my papers, to be called the Political Mirror. I intend to take my ground of law from Lord Chief Justice Holt, and my principles from *Dr. Blackstone's first Edition of his Commentaries*. His second edition, lately given the public, I hear is to be found only in your grace's library, to which an author can get no admission. From the two above I shall deduce law enough for the groundwork of my plan, to prevent me from falling into the error of a very important lawyer, who once said that he valued "the resolution of the H--- of C----- no more than that of a drunken porter;" but has lately declared also in a very respectable assembly, that it is superior in these days to the law of the land. I shall hardly fall into a dilemma about these two opinions, but shall prefer the bluntness of the former to the courtly civility and obsequiousness of the latter.

Your grace's administration is like a garden full of thistles, weeds, and various plants brought from far, and collected by your S-----h gardener; none of them will suit the land; they over-run the whole garden, and suffer nothing to grow that would agree with the soil.

Now, my lord, suffer me to make one observation, that when a spring is pent up it will soon burst out and issue forth somewhere. Stop not the torrent of complaint; join hand in hand with reason and your country, and form an amicable society to give strength to a desponding, though friendly nation. Implant unanimity in councils, and bid defiance to the whole globe.---But if some change does not take place, and reason, which crieth aloud, is not heard, things must soon alter. You may think you see a calm, but it is the stillest looking sky that portends the most dreadful storm; and I foresee that if the people's complaints are smothered and fostered in their birth, the hand of providence will carry forth the voice of the multitude; they will be heard, and that aloud too. Then should riot, tumult and confusion be the inevitable consequence of such refusal of redress, distraction would ride triumphant through the state; order will subside, and disorder take its place; and then it will be too late in that dreadful storm to cloath your administration with sack-cloth and ashes, or for your grace to cry out *Peccavi*.

VERIDICUS.

L E T T E R IV.

To his Grace the D--- of C-----.

My Lord,

I CANNOT help addressing myself to your grace as the head of that administration which has of late so signalized itself in support of the most arbitrary, most coercive principles against the liberty and constitutional rights of a people that were formerly free. Let me not be too harsh with such transactions, but let my candour and impartiality plead the fair account I intend to give the public of those fatal proceedings, that have embowelled the subjects of this realm of their most valuable rights. He that robs me of my money eases me of that which might procure me nothing, but the burthen of luxury and trouble; but he that robbeth me of my freedom and constitutional birth-right *maketh me poor indeed*.

Think then, my lord, of the situation of this country, stript of its immortal honour, left destitute of protection, and exposed to the fury of any arbitrary, despotic invader. Rest not upon your pillow till the gloomy horror of Freedom's Ghost cries out in a feeble tone, *I am satisfied*. But as this, my lord, is not a time to rest in quiet, while a poor distracted, tormented country is making its last gasp, I will not now begin my elegy, but shall soon employ my pen to write one before I leave you to your summer's retirement.

Alas! Where shall we find the men who are firm to their country's cause; a real, hearty, honest, independent patriot is no where to be found: What then has this country ever to hope for? A----- willing to relieve it, but at the same time reluctantly giving way to the most unconstitutional arbitrary advice of an Ad-----n, regardless of the cries of the people, and fraught with every idea of despotic, coercive, and what they themselves term, *spirited* measures. What power do the m-----s want which they have not, when they can call a majority at their back? Can the nation ever think, that any one question, though ever so consistent with the welfare of the people, could (as things influence at present) be carried against Ad-----n? Has such (saving one alone, I mean the Nullum Tempus Bill, in which the property of themselves was concerned) ever been? Or can we conceive it ever will be? No, Britons, once more submit to the galling yoke of slavery, and think that all modes and fashions have their revolutions; and it requires but few years to traverse the ninety-five divisions of a circle. Can we look for an honest independent patriot from the heads of opposition? No: They have been many of them tried; but will they now steadily support any national good, totally laying aside their own private views? I am afraid not

Was

Was ever a question urged to any one of them to make any enquiry into, and prevent if possible, the power of A----- in the disposing of pensions and places, and curb that impetuous rage of influence within proper bounds? Such proposal was made to one person, as I hear; and what do you think was the answer? Oh! we cannot destroy the power of ministers, without doing a manifest injury to this constitution. "What! destroy that power which, when we come in, we may find the want of ourselves. No, no."

Now, my lord, do I write with a partial or impartial pen? Yet I cannot but from my heart think that a change is necessary both of men and measures. The people have no confidence in the present Ad-----n. The late unhappy, unconstitutional, coercive, tyrannic, oppressive, destructive measures have given the people too deep an impression of their being entirely unfit to govern this country. When no petitions avail, no complaints are heard, what remedy have the few honest left to declare their dissent in such association? What but to quit their seat in p-----t, and go to their constituents and tell them, that their voices are heard in vain, and they no longer chuse to oppose dishonest measures, where honest ones are strangers.

What, my lord, do you suppose would be the consequence, if a score of such honest, independent men as Sir G-----e, A-----B-----d, &c. &c. &c. were to resign their seats into the hands of their constituents, because they found themselves of no avail in that place where right ought to govern wrong? Does your grace apprehend that such an example would not have more effect than volumes of stated grievances? However, this is the only remedy left, when all other things are ineffectual.

Such a proceeding would soon raise a general murmur, the flame would catch, and make a conflagration that all your state engines could not quench.

The whole kingdom waited the event of the common-council and livery of London, that a channel of complaint might be marked out as an example to follow: But, alas! the whole was stifled in its birth, and the livery of London left without redress. This was the greatest piece of stratagem, and the most artful wicked m-----l manœuvre that could be practised. Thus the whole rests at present there; but it is only heaping on more fuel to the fire; it will soon burst out with redoubled fury.

I will give your grace a copy of a paper that has fallen into my hands, dated July 20, 1680. The Citizens apprehended that some wicked designing man had represented to the king their meeting together in Guildhall, to consult for the good and welfare of the nation, as tumultuous and disorderly, they desired the then Lord Mayor to represent their assembly in its proper light, and to assure his majesty of their utmost attachment to his person and government, offering to join with one hand and one heart in defence of them. When they had made such request, the Lord Mayor made the following speech to the livery, which I think is a clear demonstration, that when the people imagined their rights invaded, or their proceedings misrepresented, they have an undoubted privilege to meet together, state their grievance, and petition the throne for redress:

Gentlemen,

'I must confess I have always had this apprehension, that nothing could contribute more to the safety of his majesty's person and the welfare of his subjects than a right understanding between the king and his people, and more immediately between his majesty and this great city. If there have been any such misrepresentations as you seem to intimate in your petition, I call God to witness I am free from it, and I do not easily believe any body else would be guilty of such a thing. However, as to that matter, gentlemen, I shall readily comply with your request, and inform the king truly of the fact. For the other matter I am obliged to say so much to you, that I had the honour not long since to wait upon his majesty, when he was pleased to declare to me, and assure me, that his parliament should sit in November next; and I am informed likewise that he hath acquainted all his judges with the same thing, for them to satisfy the counties in their several circuits. If that be so, I hope your great concern for that matter might have been spared, being anticipated by his majesty's gracious intention: However, I will not be wanting, with all humility, to lay the matter before him.'

My lord having ended his speech, the whole hall returned their humble thanks to his lordship by a fourth acclamation, not inferior to the rest, testifying their full satisfaction in what his lordship had declared.

In what light does your grace think that the livery of London were looked upon then? Were their petitions duly regarded?----Was their meeting deemed illegal?----Was the liberty of complaint judged traitorous, tumultuous, and seditious? I would to God that precedents, if they need be called forth to for it, and strengthen an infamous act, may at least be considered as giving an additional security to a legal and constitutional one. *Salus Populi est suprema Lex.*---No voice that utters forth complaints should ever be stoppt---the nation's

cry ought to be heard aloud!--I will just mention a ridiculous story out of some little catchpenny book, or out of the Wit's Vade Mecum,---that a ship's crew having failed so far northward, that the words were frozen as they came out of their mouths, and it continued so for some months; but veering about, they soon got into a warm climate, when on a sudden, all the oaths, complaints, wrongs, grievances, burst out, as it were, into a clap of thunder, and such a confusion of tongues was never heard before, no, not even in Babe. Perhaps the story may become applicable, though fabulous. Your grace and your administration have been a long time in the northern latitude, and the crew as well as passengers find the climate so cold that many of them will be starved to death unless you veer about as formerly, and stand to the southward. Let not this pleasant summer lull you to sleep under a seeming rose bush in your retirement, nor when you start up, being dislurbed from your slumber, be surprized to find that it is changed into a briar bush, and, if you can, take care to avoid its pricking you to a severe degree; but if you fall not asleep, meditate what your adm-----n has done, and what you *may* do, if uninfluenced, and with the B-----y tr.be unconnected: But if your grace retires at such a distance that you cannot hear the cries of the people, I will memorandum down all the intelligence I can learn, that your administration may not be wanting of information.

VERIDICUS.

To Sir BULLFACE DOUBLEFEE.

YOUR abilities upon a late occasion have distinguished you amongst your own party, though the late hour at which you spoke prevented you from being properly taken notice of by your opponents. No man has entitled himself to ministerial honours by a greater share in the public detestation. You must not be confounded with your puny partizans, who asserted the power of the H----- to create disqualifications, or to make the law of the land; that was too open ground to be defended by your army of sophisms and subtleties, and therefore you artfully avoided it; but you maintained a principle, which by your management proved equally pernicious, that the H----- of C----- had a power to explain and to declare it. You asserted Mr. Wilkes to be incapable of being elected, because the H----- had adjudged him to be so; that the H----- was a court of record, invested with a right to judge and to declare the legal incapacities of members and candidates; that the H----- had declared Mr. Wilkes incapable, having by the common law a right to make such a declaration; that its judgment was law, however unjust it may have been, as much as the sentence of one of the courts is law, until it be rescinded; that therefore Mr. Wilkes was disqualified by law, and therefore Mr. Luttrell was the first legal candidate upon the poll. Before I answer this argument, which I am certain I have stated fairly, as 600 witnesses can testify, I must observe, that as this question is over, as well as the vote of disqualification, upon which you defended yourself, they are now both equally before the public, and that it is incumbent upon you to vindicate the one as well as the other. If the H----- in the vote of disqualification did not make the law, but declare it, tell us then what law was it that it declared; in what statute is it to be found, in what author shall we search for it, in what catalogue of the legal disqualifications of men to be returned to parliament, shall we find an offence, of which Mr. Wilkes has been convicted? By your own arguments, you have declared the law, sitting in a court of record in the capacity of a judge. Tell then to the public, what is the law which you have declared; for if you cannot, then your conduct in your first decision is condemned by the only principle on which your vote of last Monday was defended. Your friend Dr. B-----ne has numbered the circumstances which disqualify candidates; nothing that can be applied to Mr. Wilkes is found amongst them, and the doctor has positively declared, that all others are eligible of common right. How did you evade the force of this authority? By the most shameful evasion! That, indeed, all others were eligible of common right; but that if a man disentitles himself to common right, why then common right does not belong to him.---- What have you done by this evasion? You have called upon that gentleman to vindicate his doctrines, and to declare to the world that his writings do not admit of such double interpretations; and you have entitled the public to demand of you, Why Mr. Wilkes is not entitled to common right as well as the rest of his majesty's subjects? You have asked indeed as if you thought he was not; but you never before was so imprudent as to avow it. Let me also ask you, if you were passing judgment upon a statute which enumerated the incapacities of men for any office, and declared all others to be eligible of common right, whether you would decide, that any person could be deprived of his claim to that common right by any other circumstances except those which were enumerated? As the interpretation of law may fall to you, it is material to the public, to yourself, and to your employers, that you should answer this question.

But you say, that by your former vote you had gone too far to recede; that you had left but one way of acting, if you would be consistent with yourself. If you really believed this doctrine, you have, I confess, the excuse of a man, who having promised to assassinate, thinks himself bound to commit the murder, lest he should break his promise. But you were offered another interpretation of that fatal vote, by a gentleman of great abilities. It was urged that the H---- could not interpret that vote to be any more than a rule for their own conduct towards Mr. Wilkes, if he should become their member; that they had no right to disqualify him from being a legal candidate, though they had a power over him from the moment he became one of their body; and that therefore any other interpretation declared the house to have acted contrary to law. Why, Sir Bullface, did you not prefer that meaning which was agreeable to law, to that which contradicted it? When, like your brother clown,* you might have broke off at the lie circumstantial, Why did you maintain that you had given the constitution the lie direct?

The H---- of C---- you say is a court of record: This is the foundation of your argument, and here is its infirmity. The jurisdiction and power of courts of record are limited; and if the vote of disqualification exceeded those powers, the freeholders and sheriffs were no more bound to take notice of it, than they would be bound to take notice of an order of the court of exchequer, condemning Mr. Wilkes to capital punishment. A court of record in matters to which its jurisdiction extends, when they come before it in a judicial way, has a right to judge according to the laws that previously existed; it has no right to make the law, but to declare what is the law, as it is contained in the statutes, or in law books of approved authority. But it remains for you to prove, that the disqualification of a candidate did lye within its jurisdiction; that it did determine that question in a judicial way, having heard and convicted him upon some known law; and, above all, you should discover where is that law upon which this court of record grounded its decision. According to you, the H----, being a court of record, has a right to declare a legal disqualification, to judge according to law. Why has the H---- a right to declare it? Because it is law. And why is it law? Because the H---- has declared it. Such is the circular reasoning of you, the hero, the bulwark of ad-----n. But as well might the H---- declare, that a ten pound freeholder has not a right to vote, as that a man (on whom neither statute nor common law has fixed a disqualification) has not a right to be elected. But if, hereafter, any one should dispute the power of the H---- to destroy the rights of every candidate, and every elector in Great Britain, and should say that the H---- has only a right to declare the law, but not to make it, may not some future Doubleface reply to him, The year 1769 has given us a precedent, and which confounds your reasoning: Mr. Wilkes was incapacitated as a candidate, though he did not fall within the description of one single law, or one single law book, that treated of disqualifications. If he had been disqualified by any law, but the mere will of the H---- of C-----, that law would have existed before the vote of the H----, nay, it would have existed without that vote. If an Alien, a Papist, or any person by law incapable, had proposed himself as a candidate, the freeholders would be bound to take notice of his incapacity, without any declaration of it from the H---- of C-----. But until it be proved that the H---- decided upon some known law, which can now be produced, we have one (though but one) indisputable precedent, that the H---- can create a law when it cannot find one.---Your patriotism, Sir Bullface, would lead you to reply to this doctrine, but even your abilities could not evade that truth, and if they could not, we must confess that the accidents, the providence, and the blood which has preserved the rights of election, from the invasion of one branch of the legislature, have preserved them for no other purpose than to leave them at the mercy of another.

Such has been the effect of your unrelenting vengeance against a gentleman whose faults would never have been punished, had they not been accompanied by too ardent a love of that liberty which you hate, and which you have destroyed. He foretold, that having determined who should not, you would in the next instance determine, who should be the member. Though you have denied his mission, you have certainly fulfilled his prophecy. You have now ennobled him by the wrongs he had suffered; you have given him a claim upon the gratitude of the public, though he should be destitute of a right to their esteem. But if others should think him exceptionable, by the injuries he has received from adm-----n, he is made at least superior to them. But it is now no longer his cause, or it is his only in common with every candidate and elector of this once free nation.

JOHN BULL.

* *Touchstone in As you like it.*

Vindication of the D— of G——n continued, see page 326.

FROM the commencement of the national disgust taken to the political conduct of the E—l of B—e, to this present time, no writer has dared to insult the public with so fallacious and so impudent a defence of that unpopular nobleman, as the author now under consideration. It is hardly possible to conceive that such a hireling prostitute could have been found, if daily experience did not convince us, that avarice is a passion which frequently gains strength as men advance to the verge of the grave; a recent instance of this is given by our author, who, after enjoying for a great number of years a variety of profitable places, has for the sake of adding a little more to the golden heap, sacrificed his reputation at the close of life, by a shameless vindication of despotic measures, by an indecent and unmanly attack on the supporters of the rights of the people; and by a most audacious lying defence of a detestable favourite.—After a great deal of illiberal abuse of Mr. Wilkes, by way of preface to his introducing his hero the earl of B—e on the scene, he tells us,—“ That Wilkes’s turn for wit and satire had procured him a number of connections, and had made him the friend and companion of some of the first men of birth and distinction in the kingdom, and especially of the young and rising ones;—that it happened very fortunately for him (if the end could have answered the beginning) but very, very unfortunately for his country, that just at that time, and in the dawning of a new reign, a great deal of jealousy, discontent and disgust had arisen amongst the *English* nobility and other distinguished personages of this part of the realm, and this from a mere, but very unlucky, circumstance. That this circumstance had had its source in the misconduct of those senior ones of their own class, who, under the late reign, had behaved in a slighting and even an oppressive manner to the late prince of Wales and the royal princess his surviving dowager. That they had been guilty of the grossest mismanagement and neglect with respect to the usual cares to be taken of a prince, who, by the demise of his father was become the immediate heir to the throne. That this conduct of theirs, had reduced the r—l p—s his mother, to have recourse to a nobleman, who had been greatly trusted and beloved by the prince her consort; and who had continued to shew his faithful zeal and loyal attachment to herself, and her royal offspring.” The whole of this paragraph is highly injurious to the memory of the old whigs, the staunch friends of the revolution, and of the illustrious house of Hanover, who at that time, surrounded and guarded the throne; and who had but a few years before associated themselves, and put to the hazard, life and fortune, in quelling an unnatural rebellion against the late king, of blessed memory, who was the real father of his people. These are the people whom this wretched court scribler in a cowardly manner reproaches, trampling on their ashes before they are fairly cold; the late patriotic duke of Newcastle is particularly aimed at for the well known difference that subsisted between him and the late prince of Wales; a candid humane friend to the departed, would rather have desired that this unlucky circumstance should have rested in oblivion, than to have revived the remembrance of it, barely to build the reputation of an ambitious minion on the attempted ruin of

the characters of the old worthy *English* nobility who were employed by the late king. But still more extraordinary and uncommonly insolent is the charge brought against them, of neglecting the usual cares to be taken of the p— of W—s our present august sovereign, on the demise of his father. Was the appointment of Dr. Hayter then bishop of Norwich, and of the earl of Harcourt, by the ministry of that time, to superintend and direct the education of the young p—e a proof either of neglect, or want of attention to the usual cares to be taken of a prince? Those who remember the characters those preceptors bore, and the manner of their dismissal from their important charge, and who at the same time recollect the assiduity and diligence of those eminent personages, will hardly believe that any gross mismanagement or neglect of theirs or of the good king and ministry, by whom they were employed and reluctantly dismissed, could have reduced the r—l p—s his mother to the necessity of putting him under the management and direction of lord B—e, to whom, says our author, “under the tender care of the most affectionate and worthiest of mothers, the young monarch (endowed by nature with the happiest inclinations) was solely indebted for every improvement of his understanding and for every proper direction of his virtues, to make him the *benefactor* and *delight* of his people.” We will venture to pronounce, in pious respect to the memory of that learned and candid prelate Dr. Hayter, that this is a *solemn* compliment paid to lord B—e at the expence of truth,—the earl of Harcourt is left to vindicate himself, and we doubt not but he will demand proper satisfaction for this glaring affront. But we must follow our author a little further—“This nobleman’s (the earl of B—e’s,) character had always been reputed a most virtuous and a most amiable one, as well as a husband, a father and a master, as a friend,---*pity he had not added,---as a guardian and a patriot*!---And his taste and understanding had been cultivated in the most elevated manner. Consequently,” *if it had not been for the jealousies and discontents of the English nobility, and other persons of distinction,* “nothing could have been more acceptable to the nation in general, when the young monarch mounted the throne, than to observe how much he loved and revered the man under whose conduct he had already as p--- of W---s endeared himself to the people, by the most affable, and at the same time the most dignified deportment that his station could allow of, as well as by the early appearances of those innate virtues of wisdom, justice and humanity, which are so conspicuous in his character.” We are pleased to find that these distinguished qualifications were happily innate, and not of lord B---e’s planting—conscious at length of one truth, that the p---e did not owe these to his lordship; Mr. Richard W-----n our author, a hackneyed, lying, g-----e writer, rather chooses to have recourse to *innate* ideas, than to allow that the first principles of wisdom, justice and humanity were instilled into the mind of the young p---e by the bishop of Norwich, and the earl of Harcourt. But we shall make fuller discoveries of this gentleman’s talent, as a ministerial agent as we proceed.

It is to be observed, that through the whole of this pamphlet the duke of G——n and Lord Bute are inseparably linked together, so that the vindication of the one, is made the basis of the defence of the other. And that the writer is supposed to be delivering to the public, the sentiments of his g——e of G——n on the conduct of Mr. Wilkes. "It must," says he, "have occurred to the duke, that the very first acts of the k——'s reign had been pledges of his love for his *people*, and of his tender regard for their *liberties* and *privileges*. That they had been at the same time proofs, of the distinguished care, which the royal princess his mother had taken, with the *unwearied assistance* of the earl of Bute, to cultivate and improve those principles in the royal breast." We have frequently heard it remarked of dedications to great men, prefixed to books; that the encomiums bestowed on them by the authors, were the severest satires on their lives and conversations; heaven forbid any application should be made of this remark to the prejudice of the r——l p——s or the E—— of B——. "But it must have occurred also to the duke of G——n that it would have been happy for this nation if lord B——e, who by his nobleness of soul, as well as by his affluence, and regularity was above all sordid views, had only continued to be the private guide and adviser of a prince, to whose happiness (which he had taught him, *for it was no innate idea*, to depend on that of his people) he had devoted himself in so *peculiar* a manner." We beg to inform Mr. Richard W——n that the world is of opinion, that his favourite earl has never ceased to be the private, from the time that he was the public, guide of his S——, and this the nation cannot yet find the happiness resulting from it. But unhappily, it seems he was forced into the ministry, according to this author's account, by the intrigues of the *English* nobility and gentry, owing to their jealousy and discontent at the confidence he enjoyed on the part of his royal master. He should have added, *and was forced out again, by the same intrigues*. Mr. W——n ascribes no other cause for all this jealousy, but that the E—— of B——e had derived his birth from a *Scotch*, instead of an *English* family; and moreover, from a collateral branch of the royal house of *Stuarts*. Yet, says he, though this circumstance in itself, could have had no weight with men of sense, and well wishers to the union of the two kingdoms, it had been very soon *aggravated*, by an apparent design in the young monarch, of endeavouring to abolish that sort of settled party spirit, which had all the appearance of a mere partiality in the crown, and which like in the reign of his royal grandfather, might expose the best of his measures, not to fair discussions, but to perpetual, spiteful, and captious oppositions, and thus keep him under a necessity of being *the head of a party*, instead of the k—— of the realm. It is a melancholy reflection, that the dead are soon forgotten, and find but few to vindicate their character, from the base, cowardly aspersions of the living. Many there are, who owe this friendly office to the memory of the good old k——, but as it is the fashion, as well as the road to preferment, to assassinate his reputation, and to vilify all his friends, those whom gratitude should call forth to this service, think they behave well, if they only remain silent, and do not join the cry of defamation; or surely, if they could not have obtained the happiness of nailing this writer's ears to the pillory, they would at least have taken care soon after the appearance of his

pamphlet, to have chastised his insolence with the rod of wholesome ridicule. It is not too late to acquaint him, that the real source of the jealousy and discontent of the English nobility, shewn at the beginning of the present reign, arose from the *aggravating* circumstance, not of a design to abolish party distinctions, but of an open avowal of a plan to set up a new party; a scotch party, which, like Aaron's serpent, should swallow up all the rest; and that the invariable pursuit of this destructive scheme, by the E— of B—e, both in his capacity of public minister, and in that of private guide, acting by such tools as his g—e of G——n, has exposed all the measures of ——— to perpetual, painful, just opposition, and has kept ——— under a necessity of being the slave of a Scotch faction, instead of the — of —. It is not too late to inform him, that the best friends of the house of Hanover, the firmest supporters of the protestant succession in that house, and the warmest advocates for the *liberties* and *privileges* of the people, were insulted in their persons, and in their offices, disgraced and finally dismissed from the service of the crown, at the time he refers to, under the specious pretext of destroying a party distinction, which it was said manacled the late k—, but in reality, in order to prepare new shackles for the present ———, and fetters of iron for his *English* nobles, and people. Let us ask Mr. Richard W——n, admitting the design to have been as he says, what good effect has arisen from this boasted, politic measure at any one time in this kingdom? history informs us, that the true spirit of party, keeps the lamp of liberty from expiring, preserves the just *equilibre*, in a mixed monarchy like ours, between the prerogatives of the prince and the rights of the people; and the good people of England ought always to revere the terms ——— *country party*, and *court party*. For the contentions between them, and their perpetual opposition, has preserved this nation from despotic tyranny on the one hand, and from turbulent democracy on the other. The attempt to abolish these therefore, only shews the Machievilian policy of lord B—e in a more odious light. The private guide and adviser,—could this have been accomplished, might have been the public grand vizier of the realm, and his ——— the head only of arts and sciences. But thanks to the jealousy and discontent of the nobles and commons of South Britain, this visionary plan has been defeated; and here lies all the crime of the devoted Wilkes. Mr. Richard W——n has amply confessed it on the behalf of himself, the —, the p— d—, the e— of B—, and the d— of Grafton, it no longer rests on the assertions of Mr. Wilkes, so often repeated to the public; the vindicator of the d— of G——n has employed from p. 34 to p. 41 to prove to his adversary JUNIUS; and to the public in general—that John Wilkes was not, nor could not be so proper an object for r——l mercy as Mc. Quirk the murderer,—because he had committed the sin, in *Scotch politics*, against the Holy Ghost,—he had blasphemed the sacred name of B—e, “and had employed the vilest artifices to invent, exhibit, and hawk about, all that hell could produce, to inspire the vulgar with odium and contempt against that very nobleman, to whom the nation stood indebted, for his care of their *neglected* prince; and for the tokens and pledges they had already received of their monarch's love and tender regard for their *liberty* and welfare, since his accession to the throne. That our readers may

may not die of a surfeit, we quit the subject, leaving the errors in the author's stile to be corrected in the second edition, which, like the first, we suppose, will be sent from office to office, and from p— to p—, before it appears, as the court *imprimatur* is not precipitately granted.

The present State of Liberty in Great Britain and her Colonies. By an Englishman. 6d. Johnson and Payne.

THE sensible author of this little piece, sets out with reminding us, that it is of great importance, that all the subjects of government should have a just idea of their natural and civil rights, and that they should be apprized when they are invaded. To communicate information on these points is the professed purport of a few well written pages, in which great judgement, accuracy, and precision are manifested. They are treated in the way of question and answer, to render them more simple and intelligent to the meanest capacity; and the candid writer declares that he has not, knowingly, misrepresented any part of his subject. "The reflections I have made upon them are such as I could not avoid, and the liberty I have taken with the measures of government, is no greater than the constitution of this kingdom both admits and requires. Sincerely do I deplore the insatiation of those who were the authors of the measures I have animadverted upon, but more that of those who persist in carrying them on, notwithstanding their consequences are every day more and more alarming. Pity it is that the iron hand of oppression should be extended to those people (the North Americans) whom nothing but a love of freedom induced to leave their native country, in the arbitrary reigns of our former princes! how preposterous is it, that those, who glory in a free constitution for themselves, should wish for a power over their fellow subjects, which would make them the most abject slaves, of which there is any account in history; that a commercial nation should take measures to cut off the greatest source of their own wealth; and that a nation, which, on many accounts, stands in need of peace, should, in asserting her unjust claim, provoke a contest, which, if the Americans be the genuine offspring of Britons, cannot but be attended with the most pernicious consequences to both." Our author thinks it is the interest of every friend to Great Britain and the Colonies to pray for the prevention of this dreadful, unnatural struggle; and he hopes the *tree of liberty* has taken such deep root in both countries, that it will be able to stand the shock of a few storms, before it be quite overturned,—and we hope and venture to prophecy, that the storms that have already blown over it, have not in the least injured it, but that every vain attempt to enslave this magnanimous nation, and its dependencies, has caused this tree of liberty to put forth new branches from its ancient root, and that in time it will overshadow the whole British empire, while every mischievous design to destroy it, will recoil with national fury on the vile authors and abettors, and the ax which was levelled at this tree, shall fall with mortal force on the necks of the whole venal tribe, who would sell the birthrights of their country for a *mess of pottage*, alias, a place, a pension, or a lucrative subscription to a public loan.

This

This valuable pamphlet is divided into three sections. Section I. treats of government in general, and under this head we find the following pertinent questions and answers.

Q. Does not every person, when he becomes a member of society, virtually surrender the power which he before enjoyed, of providing for his own security and happiness?

A. He does so; but only with respect to those things in which the public can make better provision for them than he could for himself; because the good of the whole requires this, and nothing more. Any power, therefore, which magistrates assume farther than this, is tyranny, and an arbitrary invasion of men's natural rights.

Q. What is the best security of these rights?

A. The great natural rights and liberties of mankind are best secured, when the supreme magistracy is in the hands of persons, chosen by the people, and when they are entrusted with that power for a limited time. For if once the supreme magistracy falls into the hands of persons who are independent of the people, they may fancy they have an interest separate from that of the people, in which case they will naturally usurp the rights of the people, and aggrandize themselves at their expence.

Q. What is the first step that the people should take when they are oppressed by their governors, being either deprived of their natural rights, or of the only sure guard of them, the choice of their magistrates?

A. They must make strong remonstrances to those governors who have betrayed their trust, expressing their sense of the injustice that has been done them, and their abhorrence of the maxims of government, by which they have been oppressed.

Q. May a people go no farther than this, in order to obtain a redress of national grievances?

A. In general, this will be sufficient; for no person, who is not intirely divested of the common feelings of mankind, will bear to live abhorred by his fellow citizens, and to die with infamy entailed on his name and posterity. But if through the infatuation of governors, intoxicated with power, these means should be insufficient to obtain the end, nothing hinders that people, thus grossly abused and insulted by their magistrates, who, by whatever name they are distinguished, are, in fact, nothing more than their servants,—should strip them of their power, and confer it where they have reason to hope it will be less abused.—It was this principle which justified and effected the glorious revolution, and gave our forefathers an happy relief from the tyranny and oppressions of James II.

Q. Whether are kings, or ministers, more justly suspected of designs upon the liberties of a people?

A. In general the ministers: for in all arbitrary governments, it is the minister who is, in fact, possessed of the chief power of the state, while the prince has nothing but the name and the pageantry of it. Those princes, therefore, who listen to their pernicious advice, are, in reality, submitting their own necks and those of their posterity, to the yoke of their servants. For such is the condition of human affairs, that, in all successions of sovereign princes, *nine* have been weak, and governed by others, *for one* who has been able to govern himself.

Section II. Gives the outlines of the constitution of Great Britain; and in discussing the present state of liberty in England plainly demonstrates

states that a violation of the most essential parts of the constitution has been attempted of late years, the particulars are enumerated and then the question is put. What can the people do in such a situation of their affairs, when their most valuable rights seem to be in danger?

A. In these circumstances, every man, who wishes well to his country, should contribute liberally to the support of all that suffer in the common cause of liberty, and spread the alarm through the whole kingdom, in order to make all the people thoroughly sensible of the impending danger. They must promote the sending of instructions to members of parliament, from all the free and independent electors, expressing their sentiments of the state of public affairs; and get petitions for the redress of grievances, signed by all ranks and orders of men, who are unbiassed by court preferment, and have no expectation from that quarter, for themselves, or their friends. And there can be no doubt, but that the voice of the nation, rendered thus clear and audible, will be heard. The truth would at length reach the ears of our most gracious sovereign. He would listen to the reasonable requests of his loyal subjects. Both would again be happy in their mutual affection. Then affairs would be established by concord at home, and then no power on earth would dare to provoke their resentment.

Section III. Relates to the affairs of America, in which we find nothing new, or striking, except the following query and its answer. Q. What seem to be the best, the most equitable, and advantageous maxims to be observed by Great Britain, with respect to her colonies?

A. The most equitable maxims, as well as the best policy, in our conduct to the Americans, are to lay aside all jealousy of them, not to indulge the idea of superiority, and to consult the good of the whole, as of one united empire, each part of which has the same natural right to liberty and happiness with the other,—to encourage agriculture among them, and manufactures among ourselves, and by no means interfere in their interior government, so far as to lay any tax upon them, either for the purpose of raising a revenue, or for any other purpose whatever. The benefits arising spontaneously, from our extensive and increasing commerce with them, will infinitely overbalance all that we shall ever be able to extort from them, by way of tax. Thus shall we be mutually the source of strength and opulence to each other, and nothing, in the ordinary course of providence, but a wrong headed and tyrannical administration, can hinder our being the most flourishing, and the happiest state upon the face of the earth." The perusal of this patriotic performance, by the friends of liberty, and the circulation of it throughout the British empire, is recommended, as a measure of public utility to the cause of freedom and independency.

A Letter to the right honourable the Earl of Hillsborough on the present Situation of Affairs in America. 8vo. 2s. Kearsley.

THE writer of this letter professes to place all the arguments that have hitherto been advanced in favour of the colonies, in a new light, and to strengthen and confirm them by deductions drawn from their ancient original

original charters, and the circumstances attending their first settlement, and this with a view to determine their rights and privileges on constitutional principles; and he takes into serious and impartial consideration, the consequences that must necessarily result from the exercise of coercive measures, to compel them to a submission to the late acts of parliament.

His motives for addressing his letter to lord Hillsborough, are thus expressed, — “If you have, on any late occasion, declared the colonies should continue subject to parliamentary taxation, if you have appeared not only an advocate for, but principal agent in, a design formed to coerce the colonies; or if the sum of your political conduct has rather inflamed than extinguished those unhappy, those unnatural dissensions, so unnecessarily generated, and so wantonly fomented between his majesty’s subjects of Great Britain and America, and if consequences *pregnant with national ruin*, are justly apprehended, from your known disposition towards the colonies, no longer opposed by the restraining influence of those patriotic ministers, who have lately resigned the seals, your lordship will easily conceive not only the propriety but necessity of the present letter, in which I shall incontestably vindicate the rights claimed by the colonies on constitutional principles, and impartially expose the pernicious consequences which must necessarily result from the pursuit of your favourite measures.”

Our author observes, that the civil constitution of this kingdom by no means determines the connection which ought to be established between the parent country and her colonies, for the duties reciprocally incumbent on each other. Of this he avails himself throughout the whole performance, by drawing this consequence from it. “That the present dispute can therefore only be determined by considering what is very generally understood to be the rights and privileges of the colonies at, and soon after, their settlement, as they appear from their most ancient charters, and the several acts and declarations proceeding from the crown at that æra, together with the conduct of parliament on this subject, and observing how they are consonant to, or supported by, the laws of nature, and the principles of the British constitution.” On this foundation he proceeds to examine the charters of the colonies; but previous to this, he declares it to be an uncontrovertible axiom founded on history and the policy of this kingdom “that the king of this realm, has, by his prerogative, a constitutional right to alienate all acquisitions of territory not previously annexed to this kingdom, and to emancipate any part of his subjects from their allegiance to himself, and, as a necessary consequence, from the authority of parliament.” In support of this axiom he cites from history, the cession of Calais, the sales of Dunkirk, Tangier, &c. but unluckily for his own argument, he adds, “with the invariable concurrence of parliament.” We are apt to think his opponents will reason thus on his favourite axiom. It is true the kings of this realm enjoy this prerogative, and have frequently exercised it, but at the same time it is a prerogative of so dangerous a nature to the state in the hands of a bad king, that it has always been considered as subject to limitation and controul in the exercise of it: insomuch that the concurrence of parliament

ment has been deemed necessary to give a sanction to all alienations of territory made by conquest, and the nation has never failed to censure, or call to account, the ministers who have advised such alienations in any treaties of peace (when this prerogative is most frequently exercised) as were detrimental or injurious to the true interest of the state. And indeed if it were not so, no prerogative of the crown could possibly prove so fatal to the constitution as this, in the hands of a corrupt ministry. For it is easy to conceive that the sale of some acquisitions that this brave warlike nation might make from its enemies, would produce a treasure sufficient for the support of its king, independent of parliamentary aid. The consequences of which regal independence has been fatally experienced in this kingdom. Though this prerogative of the crown therefore be indisputable, yet it would not save a minister's head to plead it, in answer to a charge of high treason for having advised the king to exercise it to the prejudice of the nation. Our author's whole chain of reasoning consequently would fall to the ground, as he rests the validity of the rights and privileges of the colonies on the constant exercise of this prerogative, in virtue of which the sovereigns of England granted them by their ancient charters, the very rights and privileges which are the objects of contention at this time, if it should be found that these rights were detrimental to the true political interest of the parent country; this every one must allow who is not ignorant of the first principles of politics. But happily for the colonies, the privileges and rights they contend for, are not only compatible with the welfare and prosperity of Great Britain; but in the present state of her commerce, their enjoyment of them is the chief security to guard the parent country from a general bankruptcy. It is in this point of view only, that we can with pleasure follow our author in his examination of the ancient charters of the colonies. We will, with his permission, lay aside all claims of the colonies, founded on the exercise of the royal prerogative, which might or might not have the concurrence of parliament, and rest the vindication of their rights, on the civil constitution of this country, which though it has not ascertained them, will shew what are the natural and political rights of every subject of the British empire, wheresoever situated, and however distinctively separated from the jurisdiction of the legislative power of Great Britain by royal charters. Queen Elizabeth's first charter for the settling Virginia granted to Sir Walter Raleigh his heirs and assigns, our author says was confirmed by parliament in 1684; by this charter Sir Walter and his heirs and assigns were to enjoy perpetual sovereignty, with full power of legislation, and establishing a civil government in that country, which was to be united to the realm of England in perfect league and amity, *to be within the allegiance of the English crown*, and held by homage and the payment of one fifth of all gold and silver ore. Sir Walter Raleigh assigned this to some merchants of London who obtained new charters. The second of these was, to the treasurer and company of Virginia, dated at Westminster the 23d of March 1600, which grants the same legislative power and authority for the establishment of a civil government, &c.—“With an express covenant and grant to and with the the said treasurer and company, their successors, factors and assigns, that they

they and every of them, shall be free from all taxes and impositions for ever, upon any goods or merchandizes, at any time or times hereafter, either upon importation thither, or exportation from thence, into the realm of England, or into any other of the king's realms or dominions.

Upon these charters we shall only remark, that it plainly appears the patentees and all the inhabitants of Virginia were deemed subjects of Great Britain, under allegiance to the crown, by which allegiance they were necessarily restrained from alliances with foreign powers, from a separate trade with them to the prejudice of the commerce of the parent country, and from a variety of other acts which constitute the independency of states, so that they cannot be said to have been rendered a distinct state, as our author would define it. Nor can it possibly be denied that the kings of England thought themselves entitled to a resumption of these charters, in virtue of the same prerogative by which they granted them. Thus we find, in the work before us, that James I. dissolved the Virginia company, and rendered the colony immediately dependent on the crown. The tenure by charters from this time became very precarious, and we find by history how little they were to be depended on. Charles I. we are told, instead of a new charter, published a proclamation which produced a remonstrance from the people of Virginia, in which they expressed their apprehensions of designs against their rights and privileges. The lords of the privy council, during the troubles of that reign, by letter, confirmed the privileges the colony enjoyed by their former charters; and under the common wealth, the parliament of England ratified the same rights, particularly exempting the inhabitants from all taxes, customs, and impositions whatsoever, but by consent of their general assembly. In the reign of Charles II. a permanent revenue was required to support the civil government in Virginia, and the king did not apply to the English parliament, but to the general assembly of the colony, which, says our author, is an early example of the general assemblies of the colonies granting a revenue agreeable to a requisition from the crown, and this is the only source from which all supplies from them should proceed.—The sovereign in this instance thought it no dishonour to be named as a part of their legislative authority. This is coming to the point, for it cannot be doubted but the colonies ought to enjoy the same rights as the other subjects of Great Britain; and we know that it is the practice here when the king wants a supply for the support of government, for him to require it of the general assembly of the people, that is to say, of the house of commons; and no friend of the constitution of the British empire, can conscientiously give his opinion in favour of any other mode of levying money, or raising a revenue in any part of its dominions. The precedent established by an arbitrary imposition of a tax imposed without the consent of a free people, is pregnant with every mischief, and depend on it, the experiment was not tried in America without a view to something farther at home.

The next settlement to Virginia, was New England, established by a set of men who were denied in England, the privileges of toleration in religious matters, and therefore fled to Holland from episcopal persecution, but James I. having granted letters patent to a certain number of persons,

persons, filed the council at Plymouth for the purpose of planting and governing New England, they applied for leave to retire and settle there as private adventurers under the conditions of the patent, which gave full power to the council at Plymouth to confer legislative authority: they repaired thither, and landed in a part which they had no permission to settle, and which they held from no European power, and therefore considered themselves as persons who had reverted to their natural freedom and independence, and thought it necessary by a public act which was signed by all the heads of families, to declare themselves the subjects of their former sovereign, and engage to obey such laws as they themselves should enact for their own government. "This my lord, says our author, was the æra of their emancipation from parliamentary authority, of which your lordship may acquaint Mr. Grenville, should he hereafter repeat his question on that head." Here we must again beg leave to differ in opinion from the writer of this ingenious letter to lord Hillsborough. It is plain these first adventurers did not mean to revert to their natural freedom and independence; the very application they made to king James and to the council of Plymouth, evince a contrary intention; they went out as subjects of England, and they settled as such. I know not by what blunder our author asserts, that they landed in a part which they had no permission to settle, and which they held from no European power, since king James by his letters patent, had granted the whole territory of New England to the council of Plymouth, and they settled on a part of it, in consequence of a permission which they had applied for and obtained of that council. Besides, in case of opposition from the natives, or any European power, to whom would they have applied for succour but to the king of England, or to the council who held these lands from him. He says in the same page, that these adventurers first bargained for the soil with its natural proprietors and aboriginal inhabitants, and afterwards purchased, from the council of Plymouth, the entire right of the patentees to that part of the country; which proves their dependence on the parent country, and contradicts his former assertions concerning their independence. So far for the colony of New Plymouth, the inhabitants of which being considerably augmented by subsequent migrations, the colony of Massachusetts's bay was planted, the seat of the present disputes; a charter was granted to this colony by Charles the First, with all the privileges and immunities that had been hitherto granted to any colony; but by no means so complete as to constitute a free distinct state, which our author again asserts, though in the very paragraph following this position, he gives us an account of the vacating or setting aside this charter by a judgment given in the court of chancery. What was a free distinct state subject to a sentence given in a court of law in England? This instance alone is sufficient to overthrow all that he advances respecting the freedom and independence of the colonies, as derived from their ancient charters. And it is further evident, that whenever the kings of England found that the privileges granted by their charters were prejudicial to the common interest of the parent country they revoked them, and the colonies either remained without charters, immediately dependent on the crown, or received new charters with alterations suitable to the different circumstances of the parent country.

reside in the mother country : such are the terms I would make for her. And on the other hand, let the colonists possess the fruits of that soil, which, by our permission they have cultivated ; let them enjoy in security, at least, from *our* rapine, that property, which we have for *our own sakes* permitted them to earn." But admitting a right had been proved incontrovertibly to tax them, our author is of opinion, nothing is done, unless it could be proved to be our interest also. And certainly the prudence of the present measures, is a question which should have been determined before that of right was agitated. This is a very judicious remark, and falls in with our idea, that the matter of right, when agitated, has only served to widen the breach, to extend the controversy, to inflame the minds of the people, who are always tenacious of a superiority over their brethren in America, and to take off our attention from the main point. Let us then for the future unite in discussing this single question. Is it the interest of Great Britain to tax the colonies, for the purpose of raising a revenue ? The decline of our most valuable commerce, the augmentation of which was the object of colonization, will every day more and more convince us that it is not ; and that unless a reversal of the prevailing opinions and measures relative to the colonies, speedily takes place, Great Britain will not be able to maintain that superiority she has long enjoyed over the neighbouring states of Europe, as a maritime, commercial nation. Nor will she be enabled to carry on any future extensive war,—for the resources derived from commerce, must fail, when our manufacturers are unemployed at home, which must soon be the case, if the spirit of fabrication becomes universal in the colonies, owing to the oppressive duties laid on our commodities, on their importation into America. And then our author's observation will be completed. " The distraction of the British empire followed almost instantaneously" the days of her brightest splendour ;—the common catastrophe of empires.

The Diffusion, or an Examination of Mr. Ingram's Blow, relative to the Death of the late Mr. Clarke. 8vo. 1s. Blyth.

IF any thing remained wanting to convince the public that the unfortunate Mr. Clarke actually died in consequence of the blow he received at Brentford on the 8th of December, or that Mr. Foot's account of his case is the only one that deserves credit, this sensible pamphlet, apparently written by some gentleman of eminence in the faculty, puts the matter beyond all doubt ; and places in a most contemptible light all the instruments made use of by the m——y, to exculpate Mac-Quirk, and render him a fit object for r——l c——y. We cannot but lament the tardiness of this publication, which we are afraid will prevent that attention to it, which the masterly manner of treating the subject merits. Leaving the particular reflections thrown out in this pamphlet respecting Mr. Ingram's motives for making himself a party in this affair, and his dictatorial method of contradicting Mr. Foot's opinion, to the perusal of those who are desirous of making a minute enquiry into Mr. Ingram's character and conduct, we shall take the liberty to select such passages as fairly establish Mr. Foot's reputation, both as a skilful surgeon and a worthy member of society.

Our author observes, that if the depositions of surgeons in similar cases were to be examined, it would be difficult to find out an evidence so clear,

as Mr. Foot's—it speaks the anatomist. He particularizes appearances, and the situation of the parts in a manner that will ever do him credit as a surgeon. To prove this our author gives a full and clear description of the parts, p. 22. which serves to corroborate the accuracy of Mr. Foot's evidence. It is then remarked that all the symptoms that attended Clarke's case, exactly corresponded with the description given by Mr. Foot of the appearances he found in Clarke's head. And the two following positions are laid down which serve to refute the notion that Clarke died of a fever which was not the consequence of the blow.

“ In inflammations of the dura mater the febrile symptoms will be great, attended with those of an oppressed brain.” And an inflammation of the dura mater proceeding from the blow, was found by Mr. Foot.

“ After a mortal blow upon the head, it is not always possible to ascertain the time from which the first appearances of injury may begin. There is the best authority, for saying it may be full ten days before the patient has any considerable complaints.” Pertinent cases from Morgagni and Mr. Pott are brought in proof of this opinion, and thus the grand pillars on which the exculpation of the criminals was built, falls entirely to the ground; all that has been advanced by Mr. Ingram and the c—t faction amounting to no more than this, that Clarke died of a fever and not of the consequences of the blow, here it is proved that the fever was the common symptom attending the inflammations brought on by the blow, and the argument, on which so much stress was laid, that he could not have lived so long after it, if the blow had been mortal, is shewn to have no weight, from cases extracted from the writings of surgeons of the greatest repute. The sum of the whole is, that the murder of Clarke is clearly established, and the verdict of the jury, together with the reputation of Mr. Foot, is placed on the records of the times, to their immortal honour.

The next object of our author's strict scrutiny is, the defence of Mr. Bromfield, which he declares to be insufficient, and a disappointment even to his friends; it consists only of the affidavits to which we refer our readers, declaring with our author that, though spun to a great length, they contain nothing to his purpose. Nay they make rather against him, for it appears probable that he actually restrained every one of the surgeons, therein mentioned, from attending. We do not find that either Mr. Bayford or Mr. Underwood ever were asked to attend, and if not countermanded, is it likely that Mr. Bromfield's son, and Mr. Wren, a student in Surgery, and who were but at a small distance from the body, should not be desirous of inspecting it? And as to the affair of Mr. Bromfield's advising Mrs. Talbot to get the body buried without the trouble of inspection. The affidavit of Mrs. Talbot does not clear it up, for it only proves, that Mr. Bromfield personally did not see Mrs. Talbot; but will she swear she did not receive any such advice from any emissary of Mr. Bromfield's. Mr. Bromfield certainly owes to the public a better defence, or his reputation must still suffer. As to the case of Bromfield and Aylett, annexed to this pamphlet, we think the inserting it here was rather needless, as being foreign to the purpose. Besides, an error should never be exposed, after reparation has been made to the injured party.

A Letter to his Grace the Duke of Grafton. 3d. Wilkie.

REcommending to the noble duke, the promoting some popular beneficial act, and to think of some method whereby the minds of his majesty's

majesty's subjects may be eased of their present anxieties. The writer presumes not to dictate, but in a friendly manner advises his grace to study an epistle of Pliny to Maximus; that at the conclusion of the eighth book, which is annexed to this letter, but contains little or nothing that is applicable to the duke of Grafton, or the present situation of public affairs. Had the author taken time to compare the most striking resemblances of state affairs, he might have selected passages from Pliny, of much greater consequence, for the direction of the public conduct of the minister, than any contained in this letter.

Serious Considerations on a late very important Decision of the House of Commons.
4to. 1s. 6d. S. Bladon.

THE decision which is taken into serious consideration in this performance, is that whereby the house of commons determined, "that Mr. Wilkes having been expelled, is by that expulsion rendered incapable of being elected into the present parliament, that this incapacity having been published to the freeholders of Middlesex by the writ as the law of parliament, those who neglected to take notice of it, and still voted for Mr. Wilkes, threw away their votes upon one incapable of receiving any advantage from them; and that therefore the person who had the next majority of legal votes upon the poll was duly elected."

Our author is an advocate for the legality of this decision. His chief argument is, that the house of commons has right to determine what the law of parliament is, though no particular act of parliament has ever been made on that subject; and he quotes a number of cases from the journal, too long to be inserted here, to prove that the house of commons have constantly decided on the incapacity or ineligibility of persons to be chosen by the freeholders, members of their house. He also cites an instance wherein a bill to disable outlaws, persons in execution, and recusants convicted from being of the parliament, was rejected in 1604, not that, that house then thought it right that persons under that description should be allowed to sit, but because they knew they were sufficiently secured from such a disgrace by the law of parliament as it then stood; that they had a right to determine upon that law, and they did not chuse to submit their legal powers to be discussed and decided on by the other two branches of the legislature.

The proposition, that a member expelled, is incapable of being elected into the same parliament, is drawn from constant and invariable practice, and it is a maxim of law, that custom is not only a fair expositor of the law, but in many instances makes the law. And out of the many hundreds expelled from the time of the earliest records to this hour, no instance can be produced of an expelled member being elected into the same parliament.

Several causes of expulsion are next cited, and of incapacity flowing from thence to sit in the same parliament, and two of the cases, p. 26 and 27. are inserted with a view to make them directly applicable to Mr. Wilkes. And finally precedents are produced to shew that the late decision was not a new one. But the author has not cleared up the point whether the law of parliament can declare an incapacity not expressed in the law of the land. Upon the whole however we recommend his pamphlet to be perused and compared with the letters of Junius and Lucius on the same subject as the proper means of forming an adequate judgment out of doors of this important decision in the house of commons.

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